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AGENTS

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

LEONARD WRAY.

A ROMANCE OF MODERN HISTORY.

By the author of "The Chronicles of the Bastile," "The Embassy," "The Yule Log," "Philip of Lutetia," &c.

CHAP. IX.

Madame Trompette holds a Council of War.

The disclosure which had taken Madame Trompette "like a bomb in the middle of her back," as she graphically described the sensation she experienced on learning Commandant Simon's real style and title, operated a great change in the domestic arrangements of the martial couple. Up to that time, the daily routine of their lodge had been conducted according to strict military rule. Indeed, the severe punctuality of the gallant Corporal's wife had long since passed into a proverb in the neighborhood. Every morning, on the stroke of seven, she might be seen emerging from the great gate-way of the house of which she and her husband were the guardians, carrying the jug for her daily ration of milk; and a few minutes after, the Corporal himself—in morning undress—appeared, and took up his station against the gate-post, to smoke his early pipe. If, by any chance, Madame Trompette missed performing her usual morning duty, the occurrence was immediately taken note of, and various conjectures would be set afloat as to the cause. And this came to pass on the morrow following the disclosure in question—

"Something wrong, I dare say," said the dairy woman to the grocer's wife, from over the way, in reply to a statement, on the part of the latter, that Madame the *Corporale* had not been to fetch her milk, and that it was a quarter past seven. "Something wrong, Ma'me Pipelard. She's reg'lar as the clock."

"I'll, perhaps," chimed in the baker's wife, who had come to buy a new-laid egg.

"And the Corporal hasn't been seen, either," observed the dairy-woman. "Something is wrong, depend upon it, or he wouldn't miss his pipe."

As another quarter of an hour passed without either the Corporal or his wife appearing, conjecture became more rife, and an excitement arose, which threatened to manifest itself before long in the form of a deputation of the gossips of the neighborhood, to the worthy Corporal's lodge, with a view to ascertain the cause of so extraordinary a departure from the established order of things. Fortunately, at this juncture, the Corporal himself, pipe in mouth, came out and proceeded, in his own proper person, to buy his own milk.

"Ma'me Trompette isn't ill, is she?" asked the dairy-woman.

"No, nothing the matter with her, Ma'me Vacheau," answered Trompette.

"That's well," responded the other; "only it's so very strange"——

"Yes, it is, isn't it?" observed the Corporal, quite alive to the inquisitiveness of his neighbors; "but she's going out this morning, that's all," he added.

So the neighbors watched the Corporal's wife go out, which she did in the course of about half an hour, and much they wondered, too, "where *ever* she could be going so early."

To their salutations, Madame Trompette responded with her usual courtesy, but without stopping to enter into conversation, though she made sundry purchases of eatables on the way. She was evidently bent upon some errand of importance; for though she smiled blandly, as usual, her countenance, it was remarked, indicated that her mind was pre-occupied.

And so in truth it was. She had gone into battle many a time, without experiencing the sense of responsibility that seemed to weigh her down now. She found herself and her Corporal—as she loved to call him—converted into political agents, and felt that she had, in her enthusiasm for Napoleon the uncle, pledged herself and the Corporal to promote the political projects of the nephew. After their lodger's departure, the night before, the Corporal had submitted to his wife certain misgivings which had arisen in his mind, as to the prudence of the course to which they were committed. Madame Trompette, however, adopted more decisive views, and vigorously defended the position she had taken up. To every objection of the Corporal's she opposed a counter-plea, until she reduced him to silence, though without convincing him that she was right. In her heart, nevertheless, she felt that her husband's reasons deserved consideration, and finally resolved to seek counsel of a trusty friend, an old comrade, and act as he should direct. She communicated her determination to her husband, as soon as he awoke in the morning, and forthwith prepared herself for the visit. Hence her non-appearance at the usual hour.

Madame Trompette's air and gait were decidedly military; she bore herself erect and stiff, and carried her umbrella like a musket. On reaching the barracks or *caserne* of the *Quai d'Orsay*, where there was a regiment of carbineers quartered, she stopped to chat with the officer on duty, to whom she seemed to be well known, and on quitting whom, she saluted *à la militaire*. She proceeded thence, by way of the quays, to the *Hotel des Invalides*, where she seemed quite at home, and her popularity absolutely without limit. Every one spoke to her, and she had a word for everybody. At length she gained the western wing of the building, and, making her way to one of the side corridors on the first floor, stopped at a door on which was nailed a card, bearing in writing the name of *Lieutenant Brottier, Neuvième de Ligne.** An invitation to enter having responded to her knock, she went in.

"Wha-wha-what! La Tr-r-r-ompette!" exclaimed the Lieutenant, looking round, and stopping short in his occupation of watering some beautiful exotics, which ornamented the window.

"Just so, Lieutenant," responded Madame; "hope to see thee well."

To any one unacquainted with the manners of the French, Lieutenant Brottier's reception of the Corporal's wife would have appeared over familiar, and no doubt the lady herself would have been set down as wanting, somewhat, in the modesty which is the attribute of her sex. Drawing the sleeve of his left arm across his mouth, he kissed Madame on both cheeks, to which she submitted quite unconcernedly and as a matter of course. He then handed her to a chair.

The Lieutenant—who had an impediment in his speech—was about sixty, and had lost his right arm. He had also been wounded in the left cheek by a spent musket-shot, which had inflicted a great scar, and somewhat injured the sight of the eye. He seemed hale and hearty, however, and expressed himself delighted to see Madame Trompette, in deference to whose presence he put on his blue frock-coat, and took off his forage cap.

"Thou ha-ha-hasn't br-r-r-reakfasted, eh, Ma-ma-a'me T-r-r-r-rompette?" asked the Lieutenant.

"Only a cup of coffee, Lieutenant," responded the lady; "I came to breakfast with thee."

"*P-r-r-r-risti!*" exclaimed he.

"Don't put thyself out of the way, comrade," observed Madame Trompette; "I'll soon set things to rights."

"Ye-e-es," replied the Lieutenant; "bu-u-ut I ha-a-aven't a-a-a-ny thing for br-r-r-r-eakfast."

"Thou hast bread?" asked she.

The Lieutenant nodded.

"And butter?"

Another nod from him.

"And perhaps a bit of cheese?" resumed the lady.

"F-f-fa-moue! R-r-r-rochefort," was the reply; "and the r-r-r-right sort."

"Coffee, too, I dare say?" she suggested.

"Of cou-ou-ourse," said he; "and we'll ta-a-ap a goo-oo-ood bottle of wi-i-ine too," he added.

* Lieutenant Brottier, Ninth of the Line.

"I'll manage the rest, then," responded she, setting down a basket she held in her hand.

And without more ado, she commenced her preparations, the Lieutenant withdrawing into the small cabinet by the side of his bed, to perform his toilette, during which operation he hummed a march.

We may here inform the reader, that Madame Trompette had followed the army as a *vivandière*, or suttler; hence her military tastes and habits. She had seen much hard service, and undergone with heroism the dangers and fatigues of the Russian campaign, during which she had rendered the lieutenant the signal service of amputating his arm. The Lieutenant loved to tell the tale to his comrades, and never failed doing so when they met on festive occasions. It was after the battle of Leipsic, where his arm was shattered by a cannon ball. Madame Trompette discovered him on the field, lying on a heap of dead, in the course of her charitable search after the wounded. He was insensible when she found him, but was restored to consciousness by a little brandy, from her flask. Being severely hurt, and weak from loss of blood, it was some time before he could sit up; but with the young girl's assistance, he at length propped himself up against the dead bodies, whilst she proceeded to make an attempt to dress his arm. This, however, she found impossible, the bones being so badly shattered; and to increase her alarm, hemorrhage recommenced, so that there was imminent danger of the poor fellow's bleeding to death. The Lieutenant suggested that she should amputate the limb as well as she could, and, in the absence of surgical instruments, bade her get his clasp-knife out of his pocket. With an amount of nerve and self possession equal to the trying circumstances in which she was placed, the young woman followed the instructions of the Lieutenant, and accomplished the operation marvellously well, considering. At any rate, it effected the object, for it relieved the sufferings of the Lieutenant, and the bleeding being checked by a ligature, tightened by the insertion, as a tourniquet, of the clasp-knife, the wounded man was enabled to crawl to the *ambulance*, where, at the end of five days, the amputation was more skilfully performed, a little higher up. The Lieutenant then made his way to the capital, and ultimately obtained admission to the *Invalides.** Being now unfit for war, he took to studying politics, and in course of time acquired considerable ascendency over his companions, who regarded him as an oracle in such matters. They did not, however, place the same faith in "the star of Bonaparte" as he did, and could not bring themselves to believe in his prediction that it would be again in the ascendant some day. He maintained his theory, notwithstanding, and even prided himself on holding a singular opinion.

The episode above related will explain the intimacy between him and the Corporal's wife, though, in sober truth, she was not less a favorite with the whole of her large circle of military friends. Indeed, the *vivandière* in the French army is its *protegé*, for she it is whose kind hand relieves the suffering of the wounded soldier, or assuages his anguish when dying. Not a man but would die for her, and that would not think himself bound in honor to avenge any insult offered her.

As for Madame Trompette, she was bred and born in camp. Her father was a trooper of the ancient school, and her mother had followed the dangerous occupation of suttler to the regiment. Both were killed afield, during the wars of the Republic, little Marion being abandoned to the care of the rough soldiery, who brought her up with as much tenderness as though every man had a paternal right to her. In fact, she was literally the child of the regiment, to whose fortunes she had remained faithful until she became unfit for service, when she retired, with the Corporal, on the pension allowed them by Government. Even afterwards, however, she continued to regard the regiment as her own, and to look patronizingly upon her successors in office; so that she still kept up old associations, and thus exercised no inconsiderable influence in a particular direction.

She soon lighted a fire in the little iron stove that stood in the centre of the Lieutenant's only apartment, and set out the table, in arranging which she was presently aided by the Lieutenant himself. She then disclosed the contents of her basket, greatly to the delight of her host, who complimented her, over and over again, on the remarkable talent she possessed in the commissariat branch of their profession.

"Yes, yes; leave an old trooper alone for that," she observed, as she broke four eggs into a basin, and proceeded to manufacture an omelette. "War don't do much good, perhaps, Lieutenant; but it makes people handy that have to do with it."

The Lieutenant assented to the proposition, though his maimed limb did not present altogether a happy illustration of the fact. They got on remarkably well, however, and, in the course of half an hour, sat down to an improvised *dejeuner à la fourchette* which certainly reflected great credit upon the culinary resources of both parties. What with the cold *bouilli*,† which Madame Trompette converted into a relishing dish by the addition of oil and vinegar and the usual condiments; with the German sausage she had brought; the omelette; a little fruit from the Lieutenant's stores; the Rochefort cheese; the fresh butter and the Lieutenant's new loaf, brought in the nick of time by the baker of the establishment; the wine he had promised; the coffee, and a little confectionary; they got up a breakfast by no means despicable, and to which they soon addressed themselves with a keen appreciation of its excellence.

In the course of the repast, Madame Trompette took the opportunity of informing the Lieutenant of the precise object of her visit.

"Dost thou know, comrade," said she, "that we have launched out into politics?"

"Who-o-oo? Yoo-oo-u! The Co-o-or-poral and tho-o-o-ou?" stammered he, looking up.

"Yes!" she answered, "we're likely to become somebodies."

The Lieutenant shook his head, disapprovingly.

"Ah, thou doesn't like any one to meddle with politics but thyself, old mustache," remarked she. "But I and my Corporal have had an offer made"——

The Lieutenant did not interrupt her by speaking, for he could not get out what he wanted to say. He accomplished the object, however, by thumping the handle of his fork upon the table, and at last managed to get out the word, "co-co-conspirators."

"Look here," she resumed, drawing from her pocket and laying upon the table the *rouleau* of gold pieces.

"*Sa-a a-a-a-prement!*" exclaimed he: "Bo-o-ought!"

"Not so fast, Lieutenant," said Madame Trompette; "listen to me, now, and when thou hast heard all, give me thy advice."

The Lieutenant made another sign of assent, and settled himself down to listen, swallowing, as a preliminary, a small glass of cognac, after hob-nobbing with his guest, to whom he had presented a similar dose.

Madame Trompette proceeded to relate the occurrence of the previous evening, keeping carefully back, until the very latest moment, the name of the personage who had appealed so strongly to the martial feelings and the loyalty of her husband to the memory of the deceased Emperor. The Lieutenant gradually became interested, then excited; and when at length his guest came to the climax, his feelings so overcame him that he burst into a fit of sobbing.

"And now, Lieutenant, thou that art so learned in politics, tell us what we are to do in this matter.

But for some time Brottier could not articulate a word. All he could do, was to point to a portrait of the Emperor, hanging over the chimney-piece, whilst the stump of his arm performed sundry movements of a most novel character, intended to express that he was waving the hand that ought to have been there. At length he got up, and began walking about; having by which exercise somewhat calmed his emotion, he gave a sign of returning consciousness by placing his one arm around Madame Trompette's neck, and saluting her heartily.

"I al-al-al always said it wo-ou-ou-ould come to that," he stammered. "Impossi-ii-ible other-wi-ii-se. *Vi-i-ive l'Empe-e-e-e-ereur!*"

Madame Trompette quite caught the Lieutenant's idea of what things in the political world were coming to, though the energetic act by which he had expressed his views was susceptible of a somewhat different interpretation.

"Then what is thy advice, comrade?" asked she; "the enemy has to be beaten."

"Be-e-e-e-at him," answered he. "*Vi-i-i-i-ive Napoleon!*"

"*Vive Napoleon! Vive l'Empereur!*" cried Madame.

Having come to an understanding on the main point, the Lieutenant and Madame Trompette discussed the various instrumentalities through which they could promote the nomination of the Prince. They evidently saw their way to exercising their personal influence in the required direction, and having agreed upon the desirability of marshalling their forces at the earliest opportunity, the Lieutenant put on his forage cap, and accompanied Madame Trompette home.

* The Editor was well acquainted with the Lieutenant, and has frequently heard him relate the anecdote. Brottier is now dead.

† *Bouilli* is the stock beef from which the family soup is made.

For the National Era.

"THANK GOD FOR TO-DAY."

BY MARY IRVING.

"Well, thank God for *to-day!*"

It was spoken so cheerfully and emphatically, that I leaned from my window to look at the speaker. He stood between me and the golden gates of sunset, grasping the spade over which he had been bending all day; an old negro man, with rough, tattered, begrimed clothes, and a hat that looked as though it might have been worn from his boyhood.

"Why for '*to-day*,' particularly, Uncle Benny?" I asked.

A start, jerk of the hand to the hat brim, and scrape of the old boot backward in the soft clay; then a smile and look of embarrassment broke over his honest black face.

"'Deed, missus, didn't know'd *you* was nigh, or I wouldn't a' spoke so!"

"No apology, Benny; it was very proper to thank God; but for what?"

"'Deed, missus," he solemnly repeated, with a glance into the sky, and a reverential bow, "it's that I'se livin' and-well this whole day, please God!"

"You are right, Benny," I replied; and a thrill of self reproach smote my own ungrateful heart; for I knew that old negro's history, and thought how few, so little favored in the things of this world, were so rich in gratitude.

I had noticed old Benny on my first arrival in the village, as a kind of unique personage, remarkable for his readiness to oblige, his good judgment, his gratitude for smallest favors, and, above all, for his freedom from the vice which few in his condition fail to contract—that of taking in vain the name he so reverently and appropriately used on the occasion to which I have alluded. He seemed to have but little in common with others of his race; and there was an Independence, as far removed from impertinence as it was from servility, in his demeanor towards those who employed him, that interested me, and aroused my curiosity. I soon learned his history, from one who had known him for years.

Benny was not born a slave. He lived, until boyhood, in a free State, with free parents. He was artfully kidnapped, and sold into slavery, after he was old enough to realize the sweets of the freedom he had lost, and the injustice that had been wrought him. For a time, it was hard to bear. But the severe discipline permitted by God's providence worked for good on his spirit, and tempered without destroying its strong impulses. He became, in the course of years, the trusted servant of his employer; and at last was cheered by the permission to *buy himself* into freedom again, if he could gain the large amount specified, in the course of several years, by a small per centage on what he might earn daily. He had the liberty of "hiring out," as it is termed, wherever he could make greatest gains.

Thus stimulated, Benny went to work with enthusiasm. Every nerve and sinew were strained; he scarcely allowed himself time to eat or sleep, or suitable clothes to wear. He had already carried more than half the sum to his master, and moved about with a heart wondrously lightened, when a change came over his bright dream! His master became involved in debt; valuable "hands" must be sold, to prevent the pressure from crushing his entire property. In disregard of all his promises to Benny—sacred *only* in the eye of God, for the eye of the law takes cognizance of no agreement between master and slave—he sold the faithful fellow, keeping his hard-won earnings for his own disposal!

It is but fair to say, that this act of injustice met with almost universal reprobation in the neighborhood. But that did not save old Benny; he was sold from a home to which he was attached by the associations of years—from his comrades—his family—and from his *hope of Freedom.*

If he despaired, however, it was not long. Few would have tried the struggle again, once so defeated. But he gradually worked his way into the favor of his new mistress, an ignorant and rather imbecile widow lady, and was at last intrusted with the entire management of her affairs; she consulting *his* judgment on all matters of importance; and he, toiling in her service with the utmost zeal and deference.

This won its reward so far, that she gave him again the hope that had been the goal of his life. She promised to make him free, on condition that he should not leave *her* while she lived—if he would bring her the amount of his purchase money, in addition to his average daily earnings.

Those who believe that the slave cares little for the *name* of "freeman," should see the indefatigable ardor with which this old man labors for that promised crumb of liberty!

He has won the respect as well as favor of old and young, in all the country round about. There is no labor too mean or too hard for him; never a word of grumbling escapes his lips, though sometimes his trembling limbs tell of weakness and pain.

During the progress of last summer's epidemic, I lost sight of Benny. We were numbering over the acquaintances whose faces we should meet no more, and wondering whether the cheerful old negro was among them, when he, one day, made his re-appearance at our door, in a transport of delight.

"How-d'ye, missus! how-d'ye!" he exclaimed gleefully, grasping the hands that one and another held out. "The Lord be thanked that I sees *you* all spared!"

"But where have *you* been all the season, Uncle Benny?"

"Why, you see, young missus," said he, straightening his crooked shoulders with an air of importance, "I'll tell you how it was: I was *hir'n* out on the Mulberry plantation, for six weeks' work, ditchin' and makin' levées. I'd been down there nigh a fortnight, when I hearn tell of the fever up yur; and I says to the overseer, 'My missus is full of scare, up yonder, and nobody to *look after her;* I must leave here, and go up, 'deed I must!' You see, missus, I *know'd* how very 'feard she was of any sickness that came about. So I took and came; and sure enough, my ole missus was nigh dead with scare! I know'd she *would* die, if she kep' to home; so I went about to get her off. But there was *nery* boat, *nery* horse, *nery* carriage to get, the sickness was so bad! At the last I gets a little fish-boat, and I puts my ole missus in, and takes two boys to help me row. Well, they two took sick, and laid down in the end of the boat—and the ole lady scary to death in th' other end; and I had to pole by myself all the way down the bayou. Those was hard times, young missus, 'deed they was!

"I got her down out of the danger, and then, you see, I couldn't come back, bekase she bid me not to quit her, fearing as how the fever might come and cotch her. I couldn't stand it to not be doing any jobs, and so I went out in the swamps and cotched the rheumatiz, and that laid me up sick a time. You see, I haint made much for her this season, everything has took me so onlucky; but I'll have it all straight, yet! Las' week I fotched her up, and she's both well and hearty!"

Benny's back is bowed with the weight of time and toil; his head is grizzled by the heat of an almost tropical sun; but through all, he lifts his hopeful heart, and "thanks God for to-day!"

Who, among the crowd who give no gratitude for the lifelong gratification of life's worthiest wishes—for whom the "prayer of Agur" has been richly answered, who lack *only* that which fashion, folly, or fancy, demands—will forget for a moment the whim that has ruffled the spirit, and, looking up in the sunset, join the old negro in his fervent

"Thank God for to-day?"

For the National Era.

RECOGNITION.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

"The body of an unknown female was taken from the river, in the vicinity of the Fitchburg railroad bridge, this morning," &c.—*Commonwealth.*

Unknown!—Yes, they drew it from the water—they arranged the dripping garments over the rigid limbs with decency, if not tenderness, for they were *men*—they had wives, sisters, mothers, daughters; they put back the long, wet hair from the forehead, and gazed on the contracted features with sadness, and many an exclamation of pity as they pronounced that word, and turned away.

Unknown! What a falsehood! God who made her knew it. Christ who redeemed her knew it—and the mother who bore her. She who had for years leaned over the bastions of the celestial city, watching with such intense yearning for the coming of her child, think you that she knew her not? Or that the angel faces, looking downward through the blue ether, they who had watched over her orphan childhood, and filled her innocent girlhood with happy dreams, who had striven with the spirits of evil for her sake—think you, they did not recognise their charge?

Unknown! What a mockery! Why, almost within the hearing of that word, in the library of one of the most aristocratic mansions of the city, sits a man who is even now musing on her face. Books, statues, pictures, manuscripts, are before and around him, but that face is the only thing he sees—that face as it was a few hours since warm with life. He is a poet, philosopher, traveller, a cosmopolitan; next week he will start for the wondrous region of old Egypt and the Nile; for weeks his imagination has revelled in the gorgeous loveliness of the East; but, now, this face—this young girl's face takes precedence of them all, and half angry with himself, he murmurs—

"Strange that women cannot be more reasonable; strange that *she*, of all women, should not have known that change is the law of life, as well in the affectional world as the physical. She ought to have been prepared for this. I am as much the slave of this law as herself; but I recognise it, while she dashes herself against it. Poor little fool! I am sorry for her! I never saw her look as she did last night; but when she saw I was in earnest, she soon grew quiet. That is the way with women; they soon get used to a thing.

"Heigho! that poem ought to be copied, and sent off. It will do. G—— liked it, especially the lines

'The new-born star, with light as tremulous
As the first gleam of love in a maiden's eye.'

Poor Helen! I remember with what strange, slow surprise she looked up to me that night! How slowly, like the coming of a beautiful day, the light broke, and trembled in her eyes, until the tears fell, like happy dew, upon my breast. How strange, she thought it, that *I* should love *her!* just as if men, like myself, were not the heirs of all beauty and grace. But it is time for me to call on Mrs. A——. How exquisitely she played Juliet last night!" and with Tennyson's lines—

"The poet in a golden clime was born,
With golden stars above,
Dower'd with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
The love of love"——

he leaves the room.

This man *knew* her! Knew her, as no other on earth could know her! Would to Heaven he had not! He had met her at his sister's (Mrs. Harrison's) beautiful summer residence, whither he had repaired, a summer or two since, when worn out with the weariness and unrest of fashionable life.

She was a seamstress in the family, beautiful and fresh as morning. He claimed all beauty, by divine right; and she—he was as a god to her—like the morning to the sun, she opened her heart to his influence; he unfolded every leaf, and found only freshness, guilelessness, innocence, purity, originality, strength, yearnings for all that was good and noble and true, and on every leaf he wrote a mighty word—*Love*—love for him.

Hitherto, everything that had come in Miles Wallingford's way had been made subservient to one end—that of self culture; but the freshness and strength of Helen Vining's nature magnetized him, and, in teaching her to forget all for his sake, he forgot himself, and for a few months he lingered in the country, dreaming over again, under the blue vault of heaven, the short dream of his boyhood, which his cold ambition and still colder philosophy had long since taught him to discard as the idlest of all phantoms.

But he could not remain there always. Mrs. Harrison was returning to town; business engagements recalled him also; and Helen Vining—if she was lone and friendless before she knew him, how much more so would she be now, when the world of thought and feeling he had opened to her made her a thousand fold more alone?—she had nothing to lose but the love and trust centred in him—was it strange that she went with him, that she gave her whole being into his keeping, doubting nothing, only sorrowing that she was not far richer, more beautiful, more gifted, more graceful, for his sake?

Her nature was so rich and exuberant, she lavished its gifts upon him with such a delightful *abandon*, that he remained captive to the magnetism much longer than he himself had deemed possible; and when the charm began to wax old, she became to him a psychological study. With him, the end of life was self-culture—everything that tended to that, every experience that deepened his self-consciousness, or in any way aided in his development, was lawful. His character must become perfect, harmonious, and symmetrical, even at the expense of the life-blood of others. Woman—Love—these were but a means to this end; so he studied, thought, criticized, analyzed, wrote; and men spoke of him as an accomplished scholar, a true poet; and women got his verses by heart, sang them, praised their pathos, their tenderness, and said how pure and noble, how true and humble, must be the soul that could give utterance to such things of beauty and of joy.

Helen was not ignorant of the cold nature of his philosophical creed. Had she heard the same sentiments from the lips of another, they would have startled her; but, did she not possess his love? and, in the light of that certainty, they were to her as mere abstractions. She judged his heart by her own—or, rather, she did not judge him at all; for where a woman loves, she has already judged—and she thought, poor, foolish girl, that their love *could* only greaten with time.

Therefore, when he grew weary of her, or, as he expressed it, when the laws of their being demanded a separation, he having won from her all that could aid in his culture, and passed her on the path of life, and, in his ever gentle, musically modulated tones, he set the subject before her, she could not comprehend him. It was as if a night of years had shut down over her, haunted by words of mocking misery. But when, through this darkness, the true meaning of his words came, like the sharp, keen, resistless lightning, he stood aghast at the tempest which he had awakened.

Aye, he was not prepared for this—that cold, calm, selfish, artificial man—that "seeker after the highest" in Nature and in Art, as he styled himself—he trembled, and, for one instant, turned pale before the storm his own hand had raised, like many another miserable charlatan, who has dared to tamper with things above his comprehension. He had studied nature; he professed to have taken home her lessons—and, surely, no one could write or talk more beautifully about her—did he not know that the furious torrent and the placid rivulet, that binds the upland and the lowland together with a green girdle of freshness and beauty, is the same in nature? That the slow, lingering, summer breeze, that scarcely lifts the egret from the thistle, or the white petals of the apple blossom, is one with the terrible tempest, that brings desolation and death? That the sunbeam, sleeping on the cottage wall, at which the chubby hands of infancy grasp and grasp again, hides within it the power to blind and destroy?

Oh, yes; he knew all this well. He would have given a philosophical analysis of each, and spent hours in explaining the laws that governed them; but he did not know that the heart which had beat against his own for the space of two years, that had proven its wealth of love with a flow silent but ceaseless and inexhaustible as the ocean, upon the cold, barren shores of his own being, bringing them beauty and life, could be so roused that it could gather up all its dreams, all its loves, all its despairs, all its memories of the past and its hopes of the "to be," and, in one wild hour of agony, leap the torrent of life, and sink into silence.

So he trembled in her presence. He did not dare to utter the miserable, insulting, mean thought which his contemptible philosophy placed upon his lips: "That there were others to whom she might be all she had been to him." He spared her this, but only through a kind of imaginary fear; and he was glad, and breathed freer, when she neither wept nor prayed, but, rising suddenly up, said, in that low, hushed, but strangely-distinct voice, "*Go!*"

He obeyed—he was glad to do so, congratulating himself that "the scene" was over, that it had been accomplished with no more trouble; and yet, there was a certain look on Helen Vining's face, as she uttered that monosyllable, that puzzled him, well read as he fancied himself in all the changes of a woman's face. Why did it remind him so vividly of his young sister, as she lay in her coffin years before, in the dawn of her womanhood. How well he remembers that cold, rigid look. Does he not know that Death, as well as Life, "casts its shadows before?"

He speculates upon it—speculates even in the splendid parlor of the Revere House—speculates even while listening to the dulcet tones of the celebrated actress, Mrs. A——. It is only in the evening, that he accidentally finds a solution; *accidentally* we say, for Miles Wallingford seldom troubles himself to look over such portions of the city papers as relate to "casualties," "coroner's inquests," &c. Even now, it was by chance that his eye met the notice which forms the text of this sketch. Then he knew the meaning of that look; it was death! He read the notice again; he felt it was a lie; he *knew* her!

For a few brief moments he felt himself a murderer. He scarcely knew the difference between himself and the most miserable criminal that ever swung from a gallows. Then came his cold philosophy—stepping in between him and God—twisting the holiest instincts of his nature, the clearest teachings of his reason, aye, the very Word of God himself, into—not apologies—but justifications of his selfishness; and with a regret that she was "so foolish," he went on his way.

And was this all? Yes; for men who believe that the end justifies the means, for men who mistake that end, and set up the altar of selfishness in its place, are seldom troubled with conscientious scruples.

And yet, as we believe in God, we believe that there does come to such men a time when the consciousness that they have scorned and trampled upon the humanity with which God had gifted them, is the bitterest, the most terrible, of all punishments; hours, in which their vaunted attainments are to them as apples of Sodom; and they would bless the hand of the little child that should again lead them back to the fountains of Truth and Life!

MOVEMENTS IN NEBRASKA AND KANSAS.

The following extract of a letter from the former delegate of Nebraska, to a member of Congress, has been communicated to us for publication.—*Ed. Era.*

Kansas Territory, *June* 9, 1854.

So it seems the foul deed has been consummated, and this beautiful Territory, for whose benefit I have spent so much time and money, is surrendered up to the full power of Slavery. But the outrage is not to stop here. It is but one link in the chain of insult and injury offered to the people of the free States. You will remember that at the last session of Congress $50,000 were appropriated to enable the President to treat with the Indians of these new Territories for their lands. But this law was disregarded until the plan for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was arranged; and then, instead of a Commissioner being sent to treat with the Indians in the ordinary way, delegations from each tribe have been hurried off to Washington, and the treaties there made, so that neither the tribes at large nor the public know anything of the conditions of these treaties. The Indian Agents, the Senate, and the particular friends of the Administration alone know, what is going on. These individuals circulated the story that no citizen would be allowed to take claims or settle on the lands ceded by the Indians to the Government, until the surveys were made and the lands offered at public sale. In the mean time, Senator ——— sent a private telegraphic dispatch to his friends, to go and take possession of the most desirable locations. This information was circulated secretly, and thousands of the Pro-Slavery party swarmed over the country before those not in the secret were apprized of what was doing. These men, I understand, have banded together to prevent the settlement of Anti-Slavery men in the country. Several meetings of these "clubs" have been held in Missouri, and Anti-Slavery men have been denounced with fierce threats. This I knew from the start would be the course pursued by the Slave Power, if the Missouri restriction was removed. Thus you see the one great act of treachery and bad faith has been followed by others equally atrocious. Is there to be no end of these outrages? Are freemen to be thus trampled upon, their rights disregarded, their personal safety even endangered? And no remedy? Will the people of the free States quietly submit to these wrongs and insults—to be mere vassals of the Slave Power? I am for resistance; *I care not to what extent.* I call upon you and every friend of Freedom to come to our assistance — to rescue this land from this remorseless power — this country, the most beautiful, the most fertile, and the most healthy, I do verily believe, on the face of the earth.

You see the plan of operations adopted by our adversaries; it is this: it is ascertained where a company of slaveholders and their friends desire to settle; the Indian Department at Washington then sends on for a delegation of the tribe owning the desired lands; this delegation goes to Washington, makes a treaty ceding the coveted lands, and private information is sent to the slaveholders that all is ready, and they take possession before outsiders know that a treaty has been made, or the lands sold to the Government at all.

This is an easy way of colonizing the whole Territory with slaveholders, while an Anti-Slavery man cannot even get a good home. These are facts which the whole country ought to know, and as soon as I am in a little better health I shall endeavor to make known. I wish we could have a press here. Can you not assist us in getting one?

What we want, is men—men of courage, industry, and intelligence. They can find no place on the habitable globe where they can get a more desirable home than here. The other Territory (Nebraska) is not comparable to this in any respect, and there the slaveholder will make no effort at dominion.

Your obedient servant,
Abelard Guthrie.

GREAT DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

Senate, Monday, June 26, 1854.

The Boston petition being up,

Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, said that he had no design to call in question the motives of the Senator who had presented the petition. He had no fault to find with the exercise of the right of petition. It was the undoubted right of every citizen, and one to which he would give every latitude. He would go so far as to say that he believed it was the right of his Satanic Majesty, even, to send up a petition to that Court which he had insulted, and from which he had been hurled. But it was by motives and objects that petitions were to be judged. So, if, in sending up that petition, he was actuated by a purpose of mischief, or was hypocritical in his prayer, he deserved a deeper infamy than that to which he had already been consigned. If this petition now before the Senate be sent thither from proper motives and for proper purposes, it is entitled to all respect. If it be sent hither for the purpose of mischief, and to produce strife, then it deserved the contempt of every good man. This was not the first petition of this character sent here; and, had this come unattended with striking circumstances, giving it the color of treason, he would not have noticed it. But it came here with all the circumstances tending to show that it is part of the plan of operations of those with whom agitation and repeal are watchwords. He had seen, already, one attempt made to give practical effect to the prayer of this petition, and it had only found four Senators who would give the sanction of their names to its unholy purpose. It was said that these petitions were the result of the passage of the Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He did not believe it. It was the result of a combination of those willing to take part in any scheme to break down the Constitution of the United States, and place the South under degradation and humiliation. It came from a city where the laws were openly set at defiance; where the temple of justice was surrounded by an armed mob, to prevent the execution of constitutional duty; where treason stalked broadly through the streets at noonday, and where the officers of the law were butchered. The petition came from such a people and from such a place, following immediately upon these events. Was he not right in supposing this petition, got up at such a time, had in view no consideration of public interest? It came from Boston, where the dust of the first and the last martyrs in the country's cause, Warren and Batchelder, were now mingled together.

The orator then called attention to an Address, published in the *Intelligencer* of the 22d instant, said to have been adopted at a meeting of the members of Congress opposed to the Nebraska bill. The simultaneous appearance of this document with this petition might induce the belief that, like birds of omen and perturbed spirits, they desired companionship in publicity as well as in sentiment. The meeting which adopted this extraordinary Address was most irregular. No man save the three whose names were attached to the Address had been bold enough to avow his connection with it. He would rejoice if they had the manliness to come forward and let the country know who they were who had given sanction to this paper. It was to be expected they would do so, and that no man would be dastard enough to screen himself from responsibility by avoiding any publicity of his connection with the meeting. It was a most carefully prepared paper. It did not say the members of Congress opposed to the Nebraska bill, nor did it say a part of them, but it said a meeting composed of members of Congress. Who were they? How many were they? The Address was signed by three persons. It may be said that these were all who were there. He had known meetings heralded to the country as large and respectable, composed only of a chairman and secretaries, and whose only claim to largeness consisted in the physical proportions of the chairman. So far as the chairman of this meeting was considered, it might be considered a large meeting. He could not believe that any one member from the South would give the sanction of his name to the statements contained in that Address.

The orator then read the Address and its arguments upon the encroachments by the slave power; by its acquisitions and the designed extension of its area upon the adoption of the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850, and the repeal of the former, &c., &c. He commented upon the same with great severity of language. He said he was happy in the belief, that not one Southern man attended the meeting. After reading the Address, he suggested to its unknown author to abandon the barren field of political literature, and turn his thoughts to the richer field of the works of fiction. The author of this Address bids fair to rival the writer of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, Eugene Sue, Paul de Kock, and many others, who were so prolific in works of fiction. He had never seen a production which contained in so few words so much fiction and pure imagination as this Address. The Address charged the South with passing the Nebraska bill, with a covered design of making the Territories slave States; with annexing half a dozen States of Mexico, and making them slave; with planting slavery on the Amazon; with augmenting its power by the acquisition of Cuba and Dominica, and in time reducing the North to abject submission. He called for the author of this accusation. It was a serious one, and which no gentleman should make behind the masked battery of a secret meeting. The author of it knew very well, that had every Southern Senator been in his grave, the Nebraska bill could have passed. It would have passed if no Southern Senator had voted for it. The whole charge was a falsehood. It was wickedly, maliciously false. He could see no difference between the petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and the dissolution of the Union. There was no man that believed the Union could be preserved one day after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. The South asked to do no wrong to the North. All it asked was to preserve the Constitution, and give us our equality of rights. He had been a Whig all his life; he was told now, by the Northern wing of that party, that hereafter the test to be applied to all Whigs was the repeal of the Nebraska act—repeal of guaranties and equality to all States given by the Constitution. If this was to be the test of orthodoxy in the Whig party, then he avowed himself a heretic, and suggested that against him now at once might be prepared the edict of excommunication. If to trample on the rights of any section or State was necessary to be a Whig, he had to say to his former friends and associates, good bye. He would rather die than follow them in any such rule of action.

Mr. ROCKWELL said he regretted that the duty had fallen upon him to defend the State of which he was a representative. He regretted that his predecessor was not here to discharge that duty, rather than himself. This memorial was signed by over twenty-one hundred of the men of Boston. Its signers were the bone and sinew of the active business men of that city. He saw nothing in their petition either extraordinary or wrong. They simply asked for the repeal of an act of Congress only four years old, which act was in addition to the one which had been in force over fifty years. Was there treason in this? Was it treason to ask Congress to repeal an act of its own making? It was said that there were circumstances attending it which gave to it greater importance. It was signed by men who had acquiesced in the Compromise Measures of 1850, of which this act was one, but who were moved to ask for the repeal of this obnoxious law because Congress had repealed a previous and long-standing compromise. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he begged to assure the gentleman, had created a depth of feeling in the free States entirely unprecedented, and which would continue for years to come. It was true that in Boston, under this law, recently an arrest was made—that an affray or riot took place, and a homicide was committed; but it should be remembered that the constitutional authorities of Massachusetts and Boston took that matter in hand, and disposed of it. Sudden tumults and affrays and violence had occurred in other places than in Boston. This petition was got up for no purpose of provoking bloodshed, riots, or treason. It was not got up recently. Had its signers such objects in view, they would not have left their petition open to the public gaze at the Merchants' Exchange, exposed to examination by the friends and the opponents of its prayer. The feeling now existing at the North was such as never had been witnessed before. It was wide-spread and universal. It pervaded all professions and occupations of life. The action of Congress at this session had produced the feeling. Whole classes of men had been openly denounced in Congress for petitioning against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He would say to Senators, with all respect, that in denouncing the clergy for petitioning against that act, they had gone too far, for the clergy of New England spoke the sentiments of the whole people they lived among. Public sentiment was against this law, and the cry was for its repeal. He supposed there would always be found a party in Massachusetts ready and willing to execute it, but its execution was against the sentiments of the people. He would say to the Senator, that the time had gone by when any threat of a dissolution of the Union, consequent upon the action of the free States, upon any measure, would deter them from doing what they conceived to be right. Threats of disunion had ceased to be an argument with them, either for or against any measure. The North was devoted to the Union—they would adhere to it—they would go with it to whatsoever extent it was extended; but they did not believe that this Union could be dissolved. Disunion was an impossible thing. Why was it that Congress, while extending the Union in all directions, had neglected the great binding ligament of a railroad to the Pacific? He urged the construction of that great work, and said that he had no connection with the meeting which had adopted the Address, though he fully agreed with the sentiments it uttered.

Mr. JONES asked the Senator to say how many of these signers, who were said to be the bone and sinew of Boston, had aided in executing the law lately in Boston. Was not a large number of them, with treason in their hearts, and knives in hand, engaged in the recent mob to resist the Constitution and the laws?

Mr. ROCKWELL. I do not know that one was so engaged.

Mr. JONES asked if Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker, who had incited an ignorant and infatuated people to resist the law and the Constitution, which they had not courage or manliness enough to do in person—had they nothing to do with these riots, and these cries for repeal? As to the clergy of New England, he had nothing to say. He never quarrelled with women or clergymen. He transferred the fight with them to the Senator from Illinois. But he asked the Senator if he believed the Union could last one day after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law?

Mr. ROCKWELL. I have said already that disunion is an impossible thing.

Mr. JONES. If the Senator supposes that the South will stand like cravens, and submit to have their property taken from them in violation of the Constitution, he is much mistaken, and knows very little of their character. The Union without the Constitution would be worse than slavery. Sooner than to submit to such degradation and humiliation, he would himself apply the torch to the temple of our Union, and perish in its ruins. If the Senator expected to see the Fugitive Slave Law repealed, or the Missouri Compromise restored, he might expect to enjoy a long lifetime. Neither the one or the other act would the Senator ever see.

Mr. BRODHEAD said he did not know whether this quarrel between old friends ought to go on, or to stop. For twenty years, Tennessee and Massachusetts had been politically associated in all Presidential elections. Tennessee had refused to vote for General Cass, who opposed the Wilmot Proviso, and voted for General Taylor, who refused to pledge himself against it, that he might secure Massachusetts. If this quarrel was to end in their parting company, it had better go on; if not, the Senate ought to take up other business.

Mr. SUMNER said that he would begin by answering the question whether the Union can exist after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. If the Union could not exist without an act—law he could not call it—which outrages all principles of humanity and right, as did the Fugitive Slave Law, then the Union ought not to exist. He would not attempt to follow the Senator from Tennessee, for, like a hero of antiquity, it could be said of that Senator, "thrice had he slain his foes, and thrice he slew the slain." He sincerely hoped the people of the North were not to be intimidated or cajoled into an abandonment of those great principles of freedom which they had so long been devoted to. He hoped there would be a backbone preserved to the North. He entirely agreed with his colleague as to the character of the memorialists. Among them were those who had acquiesced in the Compromise measures of 1850—there were also those engaged in great mercantile interests. It was that great interest which, in the history of England, twice checked the humane efforts of Wilberforce to break up the African slave trade. It was the same great interest which, from sordid motives, had in the Constitution of the United States kept for twenty years the same heaven-offending traffic from the judgment of the American people. He had spoken against the Fugitive Slave Law here and elsewhere. He was free to avow it. In so doing, he would not throw himself upon the judgment of a Senate fresh from the passage of the Nebraska act, but would throw himself upon the judgment of his country and his God. He then read numerous extracts from the former speeches on this law, and avowed again the sentiments therein expressed. He referred to the sentiments expressed in Faneuil Hall, by Otis, Adams, and others, preceding the Revolution, in which they held that resistance to slavery was obedience to God. A short distance from that sacred edifice, said he, and between it and the Court-house, where the disgusting rites of sacrificing a human being to slavery were lately performed, was the spot which was first moistened by American blood in resisting slavery, and among the first victims was a colored person. Near Boston are Concord and Lexington, where that resistance was repeated, and it received its crowning glory on Bunker Hill. He then run a parallel between the resistance to the Stamp act in 1766 and the Fugitive Slave act of 1850. He further contended that the former was a harmless measure, when compared with the latter.

Mr. BUTLER said that his idea on this question was, that there ought not to be any necessity for a Fugitive Slave Law. Under the Constitution, each State of itself ought to provide for the rendition of all fugitives from labor to their masters. This was certainly the design of the Constitution. He had listened to the Senator who had presented the memorial, and was pleased with his manner. There was a calmness and sincerity about his remarks which required for them the highest respect. He regretted to hear him say that there was an intense feeling at the North on this subject. While he had no objection to a reference of the memorial, he in all frankness desired to ask the Senator, if the fires which he says are burning at the North are not to be extinguished, what good is to be accomplished by a report of a committee? If they report that the law ought not to be repealed, that will not satisfy any person who demands its repeal. He was surprised to hear the other Senator [Mr. Sumner] indulge in such rhetorical displays and bad taste, doing no credit to his own or that of the Senate. His speech was unworthy of the Senate and of a scholar. If he had kept it a while longer, and dressed it up a little, it might have answered for a Fourth of July oration in some localities. He would remind the Senator, when Otis spoke in Faneuil Hall, when Hancock acted, and when Adams wrote, they did so as the Representatives of a slaveholding State. The appeals made in those days of Boston and Massachusetts were addressed to slaveholding States. The men of Massachusetts of that day were slaveholders and gentlemen. He regretted much the character of the Senator's speech. There was a great difference between it and that of his colleague. One was a calm, honest, sincere expression of belief and opinion; the other was false rhetoric, declamative, and an incentive to rouse the worst passions of the infatuated people of certain localities. If the issue was to come, as was indicated, and the contest was to be between the North and the South, let *it* come, and be divided at once. Let it be considered, argued, and disposed of, calmly, and without exciting appeals, dressed and rhetorical display, such as was made by the Senator to-day. He would like to ask the Senator, if Congress repealed the Fugitive Slave Law, would Massachusetts execute the constitutional requirements, and send back to the South the absconding slaves?

Mr. SUMNER. Do you ask if I would send back a slave?

Mr. BUTLER. Why, yes.

Mr. SUMNER. "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?"

Mr. BUTLER. There he is again, with a quotation all ready prepared. He gets up here and shouts it out with, as he doubtless supposes, more than Demosthenean eloquence and beauty; but he is mistaken. [Laughter.] What have dogs to do with the Constitution? [Laughter.] The Senator declares that he would not execute the Constitution, which he has sworn to support. The Senator openly declares that it is a dog's duty to obey and execute the Constitution. The Senator has sworn to support it, and declares to do so is a dog's duty.

Mr. SUMNER. I recognise no such obligations upon me.

Mr. BUTLER. Well, I suppose it makes but little difference what you consider obligatory upon you.

Mr. MASON followed, defending the Fugitive Slave Law. He denied that it suspended the habeas corpus act, as asserted either ignorantly or corruptly by the Senator from Massachusetts. He said that it was Massachusetts and the other New England States which had forced into the Constitution the prohibition upon Congress repealing the slave trade for twenty years. This was done, that in that time these States might do the carrying trade in that traffic.

Mr. PETTIT said that he had lived to hear, upon the floor of the Senate, an avowal which he never expected to have heard anywhere—that a Senator sworn to support the Constitution owed no obligation to that instrument. He believed in the right of petition. He would vote to receive any that was respectful in its character, and to refer it. Should a petition come here from Massachusetts, or elsewhere, asking the Senate to expel any Senator who should disavow any obligation to the Constitution, he would vote to receive and refer it, though he would not at present say how he would vote upon it finally. The Senator had sworn openly to support the Constitution in all its parts. He made no reservation. He could not take his seat if he had, and he ought not to hold his seat after making it. He again referred to that part of the Declaration of Independence, which says all men are created equal, and hold that if these words were used in the sense placed upon them by the Abolitionists, they were a self-evident lie. He discussed this matter for half an hour. He denied that men were created equal, either physically, morally, politically, or intellectually. He denied that the Senator who had sworn to support the Constitution, and who to-day spit upon that oath, was equal to his revolutionary ancestors.

Mr. SUMNER. Never, sir, never.

Mr. PETTIT. You denied that the Constitution placed any obligation upon you which you were bound by. Was such a Senator equal to Webster? The one had earned the title of the Expounder of the Constitution; the other deserved that of the contemner and despiser of that instrument. If the Almighty intended to have created the Senator equal to Webster, then that great power had created a great blunder and failure. He did not think the searcher after an equality of morals could find any one more degraded than the Senator, who, after having called God to witness his declaration to support the Constitution, had, with that fact fresh in the minds of his fellow-Senators, openly avowed that he recognised no obligation imposed by that same oath.

For the National Era.

MAY.

BY C. M. MORRIS.

'Tis a glorious month for the Poet and bird,
And I doubt me if ever a sweeter were heard
Than that which sings high on the old chestnut bough,
That so lovingly droops round my window-sill now!

Oh! leave the dull hearth, for why will ye linger,
With pale aching brow, or swift-plying finger?
Throw the work quite away, leave the pen's tardy motions;
All the dreamy new books will make good sleeping potions!

I should know it is May, without any cipher
Of Calendar months, by our joyous old fifer,
Who strolls through the village, as if the rude fife,
That clings to his lips, were the solace of life!

I should know the glad month on this glowing day,
By the urchins, half crazy with marbles and play;
And even the Sun seems to wear a new splendor,
Or pen-wearied eyes are becoming more tender!

But sometimes old Winter, to make the folks fret,
Steps in upon May, just for one pirouette;
A snow-drift or hail-storm, or something of scurry,
To let us all know he's not off in a hurry!

Rude Winter! all ice-bound and stern as thou art,
There's something about thee that clings to my heart;
With thy warm-curtained rooms and thy bright social faces,
Where one can sit down without studying graces!

There's the table so filled with food for the mind,
That the food for the body is half left behind,
Till some Epicure-spirit sweeps off in a freak,
Some silvery verse, or some sour critique!

Then the new books, I love them whenever they come,
Without any brown mark from a finger or thumb,
That shows how some pale, snuffy student before
Hath purloined all their treasure to add to his store!

But May is a sad month, whenever we find
What long sunny Mays we are leaving behind;
And many a slab in the churchyard will say,
Our brightest, our dearest, we buried in May!

Oh! May is the season for roaming or rest,
Through the wild wood, whichever may please you the best;
With the blue sky above, and the moss for a throne,
You may fancy wild Nature's sweet kingdom your own!

Yes! seated for hours in some dreamy nook,
With a silly new song, or a wondrous old book—
The song is one's own, and collected with care,
But it puts you to sleep in spite of the air!

But the twilight's broad shadows are deepening round;
I am far from the homestead, and tread fairy ground;
I think I see elves, but it may be but spiders,
Some brave pigmy knight with a train of out-riders!

There's the "star in the sunset," how gleaming and still,
Like a rich blazing gem on the brow of the hill;
In the language of stars, I suppose it must say,
I'm shining so brightly in honor of May!

And there's the May moon—oh! pale, pearly shell!
Your topic is old—how old I can't tell;
But after the great Master-poet, 'twere vain
To trespass on any peculiar domain!

But one word I must say, as we part at the gate,
And it shall not be long, for it is growing late:
Though perfume and roses are coming with June,
I shall never forget thy soft guidance, May moon!

FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

In the Senate of the United States, June 28, 1854.

The Senate having under consideration the motion to refer to the Committee on the Judiciary the Petition from twenty-nine hundred citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill—

Mr. SUMNER said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: Since I had the honor of addressing the Senate two days ago, various Senators have spoken. Among these, several have alluded to me in terms clearly beyond the sanctions of parliamentary debate. Of this I make no complaint, though, for the honor of the Senate at least, it were well that it were otherwise. If to them it seems fit, courteous, parliamentary,

—"to unpack the heart with words,
And fall a cursing, like a very drab,
A scullion,"

I will not interfere with the enjoyment which they find in such exposure of themselves. They have certainly given us a taste of their characters. Two of them, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] who sits immediately before me, and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MASON] who sits immediately behind me, are not young. Their heads are amply crowned by time. They did not speak from any ebullition of youth, but from the confirmed temper of age. It is melancholy to believe that, in this debate, they showed themselves as they are. It were charitable to believe that they are in reality better than they showed themselves.

I think, sir, that I am not the only person on this floor, who, in lately listening to these two self-confident champions of the peculiar fanaticism of the South, was reminded of the striking words by Jefferson, picturing the influence of slavery, where he says, "The whole commerce between 'master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the 'most boisterous passions, the most unremitting 'despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and 'learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. The parent storms. The child looks on, 'catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the 'same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives 'loose to his worst passions, and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot 'but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. 'The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances." Nobody who witnessed the Senator from South Carolina or the Senator from Virginia in this debate will place either of them among the "prodigies" described by Jefferson. As they spoke, the Senate Chamber must have seemed, in the characteristic fantasy of the moment, a plantation well stocked with slaves, over which the lash of the overseer had free swing. Sir, it gives me no pleasure to say these things. It is not according to my nature. Bear witness, that I do it only in just self-defence against the unprecedented assaults and provocations of this debate. If Senators expect, by any ardor of menace or by any tyrannical frown, to shake my fixed resolve, they expect a vain thing.

There was, perhaps, little that fell from these two champions, as the fit was on, which deserves reply. Certainly not the hard words they used so readily and congenially. The veteran Senator from Virginia [Mr. MASON] complained that I had characterized one of his "constituents," a person who went all the way from Virginia to Boston in pursuit of a slave, as a Slave-Hunter. Sir, I choose to call things by their right names. White I call white, and black I call black. And where a person degrades himself to the work of chasing a fellow-man, who, under the inspiration of freedom and the guidance of the north star, has sought a freeman's home far away from the coffle and the chain, that person, whosoever he may be, I call a Slave-Hunter. If the Senator from Virginia, who professes nicety of speech, will give me any term which more precisely describes such a person, I will use it. Until then I shall continue to use the language which seems to me so apt. But this very sensibility of the veteran Senator at a just term, which truly depicts an odious character, shows a shame in which I exult. It was said by one of the philosophers of antiquity, that the blush is a sign of virtue; and permit me to add, that, in this violent sensibility, I recognise a blush mantling the cheek of the Senator, which even his plantation manners cannot conceal.

And the venerable Senator from South Carolina, too, [Mr. BUTLER;] he has betrayed his sensibility. Here let me say that this Senator knows well that I always listen with peculiar pleasure to his racy and exuberant speech, as it gurgles forth—sometimes tinctured by generous ideas—except when, forgetful of history, and in defiance of reason, he undertakes to defend that which is obviously indefensible. This Senator was disturbed, when to his inquiry, personally, pointedly, and vehemently addressed to me, whether I would join in returning a fellow-man to slavery, I exclaimed, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" In fitful phrases, which seemed to come from the unconscious excitement so common with the Senator, he shot forth various remarks about "dogs;" and, among other things, asked if there was any "dog" in the Constitution? The Senator did not seem to bear in mind, through the heady currents of that moment, that, by the false interpretation he has given to the Constitution, he has helped to nurture there a whole kennel of Carolina bloodhounds, trained, with savage jaws and inexorable scent, for the hunt of flying bondmen. No, sir. I do not believe that there is any "kennel of bloodhounds," or even any "dog," in the Constitution of the United States.

But, Mr. President, since the brief response which I made to the inquiry of the Senator, and which leaped unconsciously to my lips, has drawn upon me various attacks, all marked by grossness of language and manner; since I have been charged with openly declaring my purpose to violate the Constitution, and to break the oath which I have taken at that desk, I shall be pardoned for showing simply how a few plain words will put all this down. The authentic report in the *Globe* shows what was actually said. The report in the *Sentinel* is substantially the same; and one of the New York papers, which has been put into my hands since I entered the Senate Chamber to-day, under its telegraphic head, states the incident with substantial accuracy, though it omits the personal individual appeal addressed to me by the Senator, and which is preserved in the *Globe*. Here is the New York report:

"Mr. BUTLER. I would like to ask the Senator, 'if Congress repealed the Fugitive Slave Law, 'would Massachusetts execute the constitutional 'requirements, and send back to the South the 'absconding slaves?

"Mr. SUMNER. Do you ask if I would send back 'a slave?

"Mr. BUTLER. Why, yes.

"Mr. SUMNER. "Is thy servant a dog, that he 'should do this thing?"

To any candid mind, either of these reports renders anything further superfluous. But the Senators who have been so swift in misrepresentation deserve to be exposed, and it shall be done.

Now, sir, I begin by adopting as my guide the authoritative words of Andrew Jackson, in his memorable veto, in 1832, of the Bank of the United States. To his course, at that critical time, were opposed the authority of the Supreme Court *and his oath to support the Constitution.* Here is his triumphant reply:

"If the opinion of the Supreme Court covers 'the whole ground of this act, it ought not to 'control the co-ordinate authorities of this Government. The Congress, the Executive, and the 'Court, must each for itself be guided by its own 'opinion of the Constitution. *Each public officer, 'who takes an oath to support the Constitution, 'swears that he will support it as he understands it, 'and not as it is understood by others.* It is as 'much the duty of the House of Representatives, 'of the Senate, and of the President, to decide 'upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution, which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the supreme judges 'when it may be brought before them for judicial 'decision. The authority of the Supreme Court 'must not, therefore, be permitted to control the 'Congress or the Executive, when acting in their 'legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve."

Mark these words, and let them sink into your minds. "Each public officer, who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others." Yes, sir, AS HE UNDERSTANDS IT, *and not as it is understood by others.* Does any Senator here dissent from this rule? Does the Senator from Virginia? Does the Senator from South Carolina? [Here Mr. SUMNER paused, but there was no reply.] At all events, I accept the rule as just and reasonable; in harmony, too, let me assert, with that liberty which scorns the dogma of *passive obedience*, and asserts the inestimable right of private judgment, whether in religion or politics. In swearing to support the Constitution at your desk, Mr. President, I did not swear to support it as *you* understand it. Oh, no, sir. Or as the Senator from Virginia understands it. Oh, no, sir. Or as the Senator from South Carolina understands it, with a kennel of bloodhounds; or, at least, a "dog" in it, "pawing to get free its hinder parts," in pursuit of a slave. No such thing. Sir, I swore to support the Constitution *as I understand it;* nor more, nor less.

Now, I will not occupy your time, nor am I so disposed at this moment, nor does the occasion require it, by entering upon any minute criticism of the clause in the Constitution touching the surrender of "fugitives from labor." A few words only are needful. Assuming, sir, in the face of commanding rules of interpretation, all leaning towards freedom, that in the evasive language of this clause, paltering in a double sense, the words employed can be judicially regarded as justly applicable to fugitive slaves, which, as you ought to know, sir, is often most strenuously and conscientiously denied—thus sponging the whole clause out of existence, except as a provision for the return of persons actually bound by lawful contract, but on which I now express no opinion; assuming, I say, this interpretation, so hostile to freedom, and derogatory to the members of the Federal Convention, who solemnly declared that they would not yield any sanction to slavery, or admit into the Constitution the idea of property in man; assuming, I repeat, an interpretation which every principle of the common law, claimed by our fathers as their birthright, must disown; admitting, for the moment only, and with shame, that the Constitution of the United States has any words, which, in any legal intendment, can constrain fugitive slaves, then I desire to say, that, as I understand the Constitution, this clause does not impose upon me, as a Senator or citizen, any obligation to take part, directly or indirectly, in the surrender of a fugitive slave.

Sir, as a Senator, I have taken at your desk the oath to support the Constitution, *as I understand it.* And understanding it as I do, I am bound by that oath, Mr. President, to oppose all enactments by Congress on the subject of fugitive slaves, as a flagrant violation of the Constitution; especially must I oppose the last act as a tyrannical usurpation, kindred in character to the Stamp Act, which our fathers indignantly refused to obey. Here my duties, under the oath which I have taken as a Senator, end. There is nothing beyond. They are all absorbed in the constant, inflexible, righteous obligation to oppose every exercise by Congress of any power over the subject. In no respect, by that oath, can I be constrained to duties *in other capacities, or as a simple citizen*, especially when revolting to my conscience. Now, in this interpretation of the Constitution I may be wrong; others may differ from me; the Senator from Virginia may differ from me, and the Senator from South Carolina also; and they will, each and all, act according to their respective understandings. For myself, I shall act according to mine. On this explicit statement of my constitutional obligations, I stand, as upon a living rock, and, to the inquiry, in whatever form addressed to my personal responsibility, whether I would aid, directly or indirectly, in reducing or surrendering a fellow-man to bondage, I reply again, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?"

And, sir, looking round upon this Senate, I might ask fearlessly, how many there are, even in this body, if, indeed, there be a single Senator, who would stoop to any such service? Until some one rises and openly confesses his willingness to become a Slave-Hunter, I will not believe there can be one. [Here Mr. SUMNER paused, but nobody rose.] And yet honorable and chivalrous Senators have rushed headlong to denounce me, because I openly declared my repudiation of a service at which every manly bosom must revolt. "Sire, I have found in Bayonne brave soldiers and good citizens, *but not one executioner*," was the noble reply of the Governor of that place to Charles IX of France, after the royal edict for the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and such a spirit, I trust, will yet animate the people of this country, when pressed to the service of "dogs!"

To that other question, which has been proposed, whether Massachusetts, by State laws, will carry out the offensive clause in the Constitution, according to the understanding of the venerable Senator from South Carolina, I reply that Massachusetts, at all times, has been ready to do her duty under the Constitution, as she understands it; and, I doubt not, will ever continue of this mind. More than this I cannot say.

In quitting this topic, I cannot forbear to remark that the assault on me for my disclaimer of all constitutional obligation, resting upon me as a Senator or citizen, to aid in making a man a slave, or in surrendering him to slavery, comes with an ill grace from the veteran Senator from Virginia, a State which, by its far-famed resolutions of 1798, assumed to determine its constitutional obligations, even to the extent of openly declaring two different acts of Congress null and void; and it comes also with an ill grace from the venerable Senator from South Carolina, a State which, in latter days, has arrayed itself openly against the Federal authorities, and which threatens nullification as often as babies cry.

Surely the Senator from South Carolina, with his silver-white locks, would have hesitated to lead this assault upon me, had he not, for the moment, been entirely oblivious, of the history of the State which he represents. Not many years have passed since an incident occurred at Charleston, in South Carolina—not at Boston, in Massachusetts—which ought to be remembered. The postmaster of that place, acting under a controlling public opinion there, informed the head of his Department at Washington that he had determined to suppress all *anti-slavery* publications, and requested instructions for the future. Thus, in violation of the laws of the land, the very mails were rifled, and South Carolina smiled approbation of the outrage. But this is not all. The Postmaster General, Mr. Kendall, after prudently alleging that, as he had not seen the papers in question, he could not give an opinion of their character, proceeded to say, that he had been *informed* that they were incendiary, inflammatory, and insurrectionary, and then announced—

"By no act or direction of mine, official or private, could I be induced to aid knowingly in 'giving circulation to papers of this description, 'directly or indirectly. *We owe an obligation to 'the laws*, but a *higher* one to the communities in 'which we live; and if the former be perverted 'to destroy the latter, *it is patriotism to disregard 'them.* Entertaining these views, I cannot sanction, and will not condemn, the step you have 'taken."

Such was the approving response of the National Government to the Postmaster of Charleston, when, for the sake of Slavery, and without any constitutional scruple, he set himself against an acknowledged law of the land; yet the Senator from South Carolina now presumes to denounce me, when, for the sake of freedom, and in the honest interpretation of my constitutional obligations, I decline an offensive service.

But there is another incident in the history of South Carolina, which, as a loyal son of Massachusetts, I cannot forget, and which rises now in judgment against the venerable Senator. Massachusetts had commissioned a distinguished gentleman, of blameless life and eminent professional qualities, who served with honor in the other House, [Hon. SAMUEL HOAR,] to reside at Charleston for a brief period, in order to guard the rights of her free colored citizens, assailed on arrival there by an inhospitable statute, so gross in its provisions that an eminent character of South Carolina, a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, Hon. William Johnson, had characterized it as "trampling on the Constitution," and "a direct attack upon the sovereignty of the United States." Massachusetts had read in the Constitution a clause closely associated with that touching "fugitives from labor," to the following effect: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," and supposed that this would yet be recognised by South Carolina. But she was mistaken. Her venerable representative, an unarmed old man, with hair as silver-white almost as that of the Senator before me, was beset in Charleston by a "respectable" mob, prevented from entering upon his duties, and driven from the State; while the Legislature stepped in to sanction this shameless, lawless act, by placing on the statute book an order for his expulsion. And yet, sir, the excitable Senator from South Carolina is fired by the fancied delinquencies of Massachusetts towards Slave-Hunters, and also by my own refusal to render them any "aid or comfort;" he showers questions in volleys, assumes to measure our duties by his understanding, and ejaculates a lecture at Massachusetts and myself. Sir, before that venerable Senator again does this, let him return to his own State, seamed all over with the ruts left by nullification, and first lecture there. Let him look into his own heart, and lecture to himself.

But enough for the present on this head of the extent of my constitutional obligations to become a Slave-Hunter. There are, however, yet other things in the assault of the venerable Senator, which, for the sake of truth, in just defence of Massachusetts, and in honor of freedom, shall not be left unanswered. Alluding to those days when Massachusetts was illustrated by Otis, Hancock, and "the brace of Adamses;" when Faneuil Hall sent forth echoes of liberty which resounded even to South Carolina, and the very stones in the streets of Boston rose in mutiny against tyranny, the Senator with the silver-white locks, in the very ecstacy of slavery, broke forth in the ejaculation that Massachusetts was then "slaveholding;" and he presumed to hail these patriots as representatives of "hardy, slaveholding Massachusetts." Sir, I repel the imputation. It is true that Massachusetts was "hardy;" but she was not, *in any just sense*, "slaveholding." And had she been so, she could not have been "hardy." The two characteristics are inconsistent as weakness and strength, as sickness and health—I had almost said, as death and life.

The Senator opens a page, which I would willingly present. Sir, slavery never flourished in Massachusetts; nor did it ever prevail there at any time, even in early Colonial days, to such a degree as to be a distinctive feature in her powerful civilization. Her few slaves were merely for a term of years, or for life. If, in point of fact, their issue was sometimes held in bondage, it was never by sanction of any statute or law of Colony or Commonwealth. (*Lanesboro'* vs. *Westfield*, 16 Mass., 74.) In all her annals, no person was ever born a slave on the soil of Massachusetts. This, of itself, is a response to the imputation of the Senator.

A benign and brilliant act of her Legislature, as far back as 1646, shows her sensibility on this subject. A Boston ship had brought home two negroes, seized on the coast of Guinea. Thus spoke Massachusetts:

"The General Court, conceiving themselves 'bound by the first opportunity to bear witness 'against the heinous and crying sin of man-stealing, also to prescribe such timely redress for 'what is past, *and such a law for the future as may 'sufficiently deter all those belonging to us, to have to 'do in such vile and most odious conduct, justly abhorred of all good and just men*, do order that the 'negro interpreter, with others unlawfully taken, 'be, by the first opportunity, at the charge of the 'country, for the present, sent to his native 'country of Guinea, and a letter with him of the 'indignation of the Court thereabout and justice 'thereof."

The Colony that could issue this noble decree was inconsistent with itself, when it allowed its rocky face to be pressed by the footsteps of a single slave. But a righteous public opinion early and constantly set its face against slavery. As early as 1701 a vote was entered upon the records of Boston to the following effect: "The Representatives are desired to promote the encouraging the bringing of white servants, and *to put a period to negroes being slaves.*" Perhaps, in all history, this is the earliest testimony from any official body against negro slavery, and I thank God that it came from Boston, my native town. In 1705 a heavy duty was imposed upon every negro imported into the province; in 1712 the importation of Indians as servants or slaves was strictly forbidden; but the general subject of Slavery attracted little attention till the beginning of the controversy, which ended in the Revolution; when the rights of the blacks were blended by all true patriots with those of the whites. Sparing all unnecessary details, suffice it to say, that, as early as 1769, one of the courts of Massachusetts, anticipating, by several years, the renowned judgment in Somersett's case, established within its jurisdiction the principle of emancipation; and, under its touch of magic power, changed a slave into a freeman. Similar decisions followed in other places. In 1776, the whole number of blacks, both free and slave, sprinkled thinly over "hardy" Massachusetts, was five thousand two hundred and forty-nine, being to the whites as one is to sixty-five; while in "slaveholding" South Carolina the number of negro slaves, at that time, was not far from one hundred thousand, being nearly one slave for every freeman, thus rendering that Colony anything but "hardy." At last, in 1780, even before the triumph of Yorktown had led the way to that peace which set its seal upon our National Independence, Massachusetts, animated by the struggles of the Revolution, and filled by the sentiments of Freedom, placed in front of her Bill of Rights the emphatic words, that "all men are born free and equal," and by this declaration exterminated every vestige of slavery within her borders. All hail, then, to Massachusetts, the just and generous Commonwealth in whose behalf I have the honor to speak.

Thus, sir, does the venerable Senator err when he presumes to vouch Massachusetts for slavery, and to associate this odious institution with the names of her great patriots.

Mr. ROCKWELL. Will my honorable colleague allow me to send to the Chair, and have read in this connection with his present remarks, a passage from Graham's History of the United States?

Mr. SUMNER. I do not know the passage to which my colleague refers, but I welcome any interruption from him.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Among other subjects of dispute with the 'British Government and its officers, was one 'more creditable to Massachusetts than even her 'magnanimous concern for the liberty of her citizens and their fellow-colonists. Negro slavery 'still subsisted in every one of the American 'provinces, and the unhappy victims of this yoke 'were rapidly multiplied by the progressive extension of the slave trade. Georgia, the youngest of all the States, contained already fourteen 'thousand negroes; and in the course of the 'present year alone, more than six thousand 'were imported into South Carolina. In New 'England, the number of slaves was very insignificant, and their treatment so mild and humane as in some measure to veil from the public eye the iniquity of their bondage. But, the 'recent discussions with regard to liberty and 'the rights of human nature, were calculated to 'awaken in generous minds a juster impression 'of negro slavery; and during the latter part of 'Governor Bernard's administration, a bill prohibitory of all traffic in negroes was passed by 'the Massachusetts Assembly. Bernard, however, 'in conformity with his instructions from the 'Crown, refused to affirm this law; and thus 'opposed himself to the virtue as well as to the 'liberty of the people whom he governed.

"On three subsequent occasions, laws abolishing the slave trade were passed by the same 'Assembly during Hutchinson's administration; 'but all were in like manner negatived by the 'Governor. And yet it was at this very period, 'when Britain permitted her merchants annually 'to make slaves of more than fifty thousand men, 'and refused to permit her Colonies to decline a 'participation in this injustice, that her orators, 'poets, and statesmen, loudly celebrate the generosity of English virtue, in suffering no slaves 'to exist on English ground, and the transcendent equity of her judicial tribunals in liberating one negro who had been carried there. 'Though Massachusetts was thus prevented from 'abolishing the slave trade, the relative discussions that took place were by no means unproductive of good. A great amelioration became 'visible in the condition of all the negroes in the 'province; and most of the proprietors gave liberty to their slaves. This *just* action—for such, 'and such only, it deserves to be termed—has 'obtained hitherto scarcely any notice from mankind, while the subsequent and similar conduct 'of the Quakers in Pennsylvania has been celebrated with warmth and general encomium. So 'capricious is the distribution of fame, and so 'much advantage does the reputation of virtue 'derive from alliance with sectarian spirit and 'interest."

Mr. SUMNER. I am obliged to my colleague. The extract is in substantial conformity with clear historic truth, which the Senator from South Carolina, in one of his oratorical effluxes, has impeached. But the venerable Senator errs yet more, if possible, when he attributes to "slaveholding" communities a leading part in those contributions of arms and treasure by which independence was secured. Here are his exact words, as I find them in the *Globe*, revised by himself:

"Sir, when blood was shed upon the plains of 'Lexington and Concord, in an issue made by 'Boston, to whom was an appeal made, and from 'whom was it answered? The answer is found 'in the acts of slaveholding States—*animis opibusque parati.* Yes, sir, the independence of 'America, to maintain republican liberty, was 'won by the arms and treasure, by the patriotism and *good faith* of slaveholding communities."

Mark the language, sir, as emphasized by himself. Surely, the Senator with his silver-white locks, all fresh from the outrage of the Nebraska bill, cannot stand here and proclaim "the *good faith* of slaveholding communities," except in irony. Yes, sir, in irony. And let me add, that when this Senator presumes to say that American Independence "was won by the arms and treasure of *slaveholding* communities," attributing to this element any influence deserving praise, and not condemnation, he speaks either in irony or in ignorance.

The question which the veteran Senator from South Carolina here opens, by his vaunt, I have no desire to discuss; but, since it is presented, I confront it at once. This is not the first time, during my brief service here, that this Senator has sought on this floor to provoke a comparison between slaveholding communities and the free States.

Mr. BUTLER, (from his seat.) You cannot quote a single instance in which I have done it. I have always said I thought it was in bad taste, and I have never attempted it.

Mr. SUMNER. I beg the Senator's pardon. I always listen to him, and I know whereof I affirm. He has profusely dealt in it. I allude now only to a single occasion. In his speech on the Nebraska bill, running through two days, it was one of his commonplaces. In that he openly presented a contrast between the free States and "slaveholding communities," in certain essential features of civilization, and directed shafts at Massachusetts, which called to his feet my distinguished colleague at that time, [Mr. EVERETT,] and which more than once compelled me to take the floor. And now, sir, the venerable Senator, not rising from his seat and standing openly before the Senate, ventures to deny that he has dealt in such comparisons.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. SUMNER. Certainly; I yield the floor to the Senator.

Mr. BUTLER. Whenever that speech is read—and I wish the Senator had read it before he commented on it with a good deal of rhetorical enthusiasm—it will be found that I was particular not to wound the feelings of the Northern people who were sympathizing with us in the great movement to remove odious distinctions. I was careful to say nothing that would provoke invidious comparisons; and when that speech is read, notwithstanding the vehement assertion of the honorable Senator, he will find that when I quoted the laws of Massachusetts, particularly one act which I termed the *toties quoties* act, by which every negro was whipped every time he came into Massachusetts, I quoted them with a view to show, not a contrast between South Carolina and Massachusetts, but to show that, in the whole of this country, from the beginning to this time—even in my own State, I made no exception—public opinion had undergone a change, and that it had undergone the same change in Massachusetts, for at one time they did not regard this institution of slavery with the same odium that they do at this time. That was the purpose; and I challenge the Senator as an orator of fairness to look at it, and see if it is not so.

Mr. SUMNER. Has the Senator done?

Mr. BUTLER. I may not be done presently; but that is the purport of that speech.

Mr. SUMNER. Will the Senator refer to his own speech? He now admits that, under the guise of an argument, he did draw attention to what he evidently regarded an odious law of Massachusetts. And, sir, I did not forget that, in doing this, there was, at the time, an apology which ill-concealed the sting. But let that pass. The Senator is strangely oblivious of the statistical contrasts, which he borrowed from the speech of a member of the other House, and which, at his request, were read by a Senator before him on this floor. The Senator, too, is strangely oblivious of yet another imputation, which, at the very close of his speech, he shot as a Parthian arrow at Massachusetts. It is he, then, who is the offender. For myself, sir, I understand the sensibilities of Senators from slaveholding communities, and would not wound them by a superfluous word. Of slavery I speak strongly, as I must; but thus far, even at the expense of my argument, I have avoided the contrasts, founded on details of figures and facts, which are so obvious between the free States and "slaveholding communities;" especially have I shunned all allusion to South Carolina. But the venerable Senator, to whose discretion that State has intrusted its interests here, will not allow me to be still.

God forbid that I should do injustice to South Carolina. I know well the gallantry of many of her sons. I know the response which she made to the appeal of Boston for union against the Stamp Act—the fugitive slave act of that day—by the pen of Christopher Gadsden. And I remember with sorrow that this patriot was obliged to confess, at the time, her "weakness in having such a number of slaves," though it is to his credit that he recognised slavery as a "crime." (Bancroft's History of United States, vol. 5, page 426.) I have no pleasure in dwelling on the humiliations of South Carolina; I do not desire to expose her sores; I would not lay bare her nakedness. But the Senator, in his vaunt for "slaveholding communities," has made a claim for slavery which is so inconsistent with history, and so derogatory to freedom, that I cannot allow it to pass unanswered.

This, sir, is not the first time, even during my little experience here, that the same claim has been made on this floor; and this seems more astonishing, because the archives of the country furnish such ample and undoubted materials for its refutation. The question of the comparative contributions of men by different States and sections of the country in the war of the Revolution, was brought forward as early as 1790, in the first Congress under the Constitution, in the animated and protracted debate on the assumption of State debts by the Union. On this occasion Fisher Ames, a Representative from Massachusetts, memorable for his classic eloquence, moved for a call upon the War Department for the number of men furnished by each State to the Revolutionary armies. This motion, though vehemently opposed, was carried by a small majority. Shortly afterwards, the answer to the call was received from the Department, at that time under the charge of General Knox. This answer, which is one of the documents of our history, places beyond cavil or criticism the exact contribution in arms of each State. Here it is:

Statement of the number of troops and militia furnished by the several States, for the support of the Revolutionary war, from 1775 to 1783, inclusive.

NORTHERN STATES.	Number of continental troops.	Number of militia.	Total militia & continental troops.	Conjectural estimate of militia.
New Hampshire	12,496	2,093	14,598	3,700
Massachusetts	67,937	15,155	83,092	9,500
Rhode Island	5,908	4,284	10,192	1,500
Connecticut	32,039	7,792	39,831	3,000
New York	17,781	3,312	21,093	8,750
Pennsylvania	25,608	7,357	32,965	2,000
New Jersey	10,727	6,055	16,782	2,500
Total	172,496	46,048	218,553	30,950
SOUTHERN STATES.				
Delaware	2,387	376	2,763	1,000
Maryland	13,912	5,464	19,376	4,000
Virginia	26,672	4,163	30,835	21,880
North Carolina	7,263	2,716	9,969	12,000
South Carolina	5,508	–	5,508	28,000
Georgia	2,679	–	2,679	9,930
Total	58,421	12,719	71,130	76,810

It should be understood that, at this time, there was but little difference in numbers between the population of the Sothern States and that of the Northern States. By the census of 1790, the Southern had a population of 1,956,354; the Northern had a population of 1,968,455. But notwithstanding this comparative equality of population in the two sections, the North furnished vastly more men than the South.

Of continental troops, the Southern States furnished 58,421; the Northern furnished 172,496; making about three men furnished to the continental army by the Northern States to one from the Southern.

Of militia, whose services are authenticated by the War Office, the Southern States furnished 12,719; the Northern furnished 46,048; making nearly four men furnished to the militia by the Northern States to one from the Southern.

Of militia, whose services were not authenticated by the War Office, but are set down in the return as conjectural only, we have 76,810 furnished by the Southern States, and 30,950 furnished by the Northern; making, under this head, more than two men furnished by the Southern to one from the Northern. The chief services of the Southern States, it will be observed with a smile, were *conjectural* only!

Looking, however, at the sum total of continental troops, authenticated militia, and conjectural militia, we have 147,940 furnished by the Southern States, while 249,503 were furnished by the Northern; making 100,000 men furnished to the war by the Northern more than the Southern.

But the disparity swells when we directly compare South Carolina and Massachusetts. Of continental troops, and authenticated militia, and conjectural militia, South Carolina furnished 33,508, while Massachusetts furnished 92,592; making in the latter sum nearly three men for one furnished by South Carolina. Look, however, at the continental troops and the authenticated militia furnished by the two States, and here you will find only 5,508 furnished by South Carolina, while 83,092 were furnished by Massachusetts—*being sixteen times more than by South Carolina, and much more than by all the Southern States together.* Here are facts and figures of which the Senator ought not to be ignorant.

Did the occasion require, I might go further, and minutely portray the imbecility of the Southern States, and particularly of South Carolina, in the war of the Revolution, as compared with the Northern States. This is a sad chapter of history, upon which I unwillingly dwell. Faithful annals record that, as early as 1778, the six South Carolina regiments, composing, with the Georgia regiment, the regular force of the Southern Department, did not, in the whole, muster above eight hundred men; nor was it possible to fill up their ranks. During the succeeding year, the Governor of South Carolina, pressed by the British forces, offered to stipulate the neutrality of his State during the war, leaving it to be decided at the peace to whom it should belong—a premonitory symptom of the secession proposed in our own day! At last, after the fatal field of Camden, no organized American force was left in this region. The three Southern States—*animis opibusque parati*, according to the vaunt of the Senator—had not a single battalion in the field. During all this period the men of Massachusetts were serving their country, not at home, but away from their own borders; for, from the time of the Declaration of Independence, Massachusetts never saw the smoke of an enemy's camp.

At last, by the military genius and remarkable exertions of General Greene, a Northern man, who assumed the command of the Southern army, South Carolina was rescued from the British power. But the trials of this successful leader reveal, in a striking manner, the weakness of the "slaveholding" State which he saved. Some of these are graphically presented in his letters. Writing to Governor Reed, of Pennsylvania, under date of 3d May, 1781, he says:

"Those whose true interest it was to have informed Congress and the people to the *northward* of the real state of things, have joined in 'the deception, and *magnified the strength and resources of this country infinitely above their ability.* 'Many of those, who adhere to our party, are so 'fond of pleasure, that they cannot think of making the necessary sacrifices to support the Revolution. *There are many good and virtuous people 'to the southward; but they cannot animate the inhabitants in general, as you can to the northward.*"—*Gordon's History of American Revolution, vol. 4, page* 87.

Writing to Colonel Davies, under date of 23d May, 1781, he exposes the actual condition of the country:

"The animosity between the Whigs and Tories 'of this State renders their situation truly deplorable. There is not a day passes but there are 'more or less who fall a sacrifice to this savage 'disposition. The Whigs seem determined to extirpate the Tories, and the Tories the Whigs. 'Some thousands have fallen in this way in this 'quarter, and the evil rages with more violence 'than ever. If a stop cannot be soon put to these 'massacres, the country will be depopulated in a 'few months more, as neither Whig nor Tory can 'live."

To Lafayette, General Greene, under date of 29th December, 1780, describes the weakness of his troops:

"It is now within a few days of the time you 'mentioned of being with me. Were you to arrive, you would find a few ragged, half-starved 'troops in the wilderness, destitute of everything 'necessary for either the comfort or convenience 'of soldiers." * * * "The country is almost laid waste, and the inhabitants plunder 'one another with little less than savage fury. 'We live from hand to mouth, and have nothing 'to subsist on but what we collect with armed 'parties. In this situation, I believe you will 'agree with me, there is nothing inviting this 'way, especially when I assure you our whole 'force fit for duty, that are properly clothed and 'properly equipped, does not amount to eight 'hundred men."—*Johnson's Life of Greene, vol.* 1, *page* 340.

Writing to Mr. Varnum, a member of Congress, he says:

"There is a great spirit of enterprise prevailing among the militia of these Southern States, 'especially with the volunteers. But their mode 'of going to war is so destructive, that it is the 'greatest folly in the world to trust the liberties 'of a people to such a precarious defence."—*Johnson's Life of Greene, vol.* 1, *p.* 397.

Nothing can be more authentic or complete than this testimony. Here also is what is said by David Ramsay, an estimable citizen of South Carolina, in his history of the revolution in that State, published in 1785, only a short time after the scenes which he describes:

"While the American soldiers lay encamped, '[in the low country near Charleston,] their tattered rags were so completely worn out, that 'seven hundred of them were as naked as they 'were born, excepting a small strip of cloth 'about their waists, and they were nearly as destitute of meat as of clothing."—*Vol.* 2, *p.* 258.

The military weakness of this "slaveholding community" is too apparent. Learn now its occasion; and then join with me in amazement that a Senator from South Carolina should attribute our independence to anything "slaveholding." The records of the country, and various voices, all disown his suggestion. The State of South Carolina, by authentic history, disowns it. Listen, if you please, to peculiar and decisive testimony, under date of March 29, 1779, from the Secret Journal of the Continental Congress:

"The committee appointed to take into consideration the *circumstances of the Southern States*, and 'the ways and means for *their* safety and defence, 'report, that the State of South Carolina, (as represented by the Delegates of the said State, and 'by Mr. Huger, who has come here at the request 'of the Governor of the said State, on purpose to 'explain the circumstances thereof,) is UNABLE to 'make any effectual efforts with militia, by reason 'of the great proportion of citizens *necessary to remain at home, to prevent insurrection among the 'negroes*, and to prevent the desertion of them to 'the enemy. That the state of the country, and '*the great number of these people among them*, expose 'the inhabitants to great *danger*, from the endeavors of the enemy to excite them to revolt or desert."—*Vol.* 1, *p.* 105.

Here is South Carolina secretly disclosing her military weakness, and its occasion; thus disowning, in advance, the vaunt of her Senator, who finds strength and gratulation in slavery rather than in freedom. It was during the war that she thus shrived herself, on her knees, in the confessional of the Continental Congress. But the same important admission was made in debate, on the floor of Congress, 30th March, 1790, some time after the war, by Mr. Burke, a Representative from South Carolina:

"There is not a gentleman on the floor who is 'a stranger to the feeble situation of our State, 'when we entered into the war to oppose the British power. *We were not only without money, without 'an army or military stores, but we were few in 'number, and likely to be entangled with our domestics, in case the enemy invaded us.*"—*Annals of Congress*, 1789, 1791, *vol.* 2, *page* 1484.

Similar testimony to the weakness engendered by slavery was also borne by Mr. Madison, in debate in Congress:

"Every addition they [Georgia and South 'Carolina] receive to their number of slaves, '*tends to weaken them, and render them less capable 'of self-defence.*"—*Annals of Congress, vol.* 1, *page* 340.

The historian of South Carolina, Dr. Ramsay, a contemporary observer of the very scenes which he describes, exposes this weakness:

"The forces under the command of General 'Provost marched through the richest settlements of the State, where are the fewest white 'inhabitants in proportion to the number of 'slaves. *The hapless Africans, allured with the 'hope of freedom, forsook their owners*, and repaired 'in great numbers to the royal army. They endeavored to recommend themselves to their 'new masters by discovering where their owners 'had concealed their property, and were assisting in carrying it off."—*History of South Carolina, vol.* 1, *page* 312.

And the same candid historian, describing the invasion of the next year, says:

"The slaves a *second* time *flocked* to the British 'army."—*Vol.* 1, *page* 336.

And at a still later day, Mr. Justice Johnson, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and a citizen of South Carolina, in his elaborate Life of General Greene, speaking of negro slaves, makes the same admission. He says:

"But the number dispersed through these '[Southern] States was very great; *so great, as 'to render it impossible for the citizens to muster 'freemen enough to withstand the pressure of the 'British arms.*"—*Vol.* 2, *page* 472.

Surely, sir, this is enough, and more. Thus, from authentic documents, we learn the small contributions of men and the military weakness of the Southern States, particularly of South Carolina, as compared with the Northern States; and from the very lips of South Carolina, on four different occasions, speaking by a committee; by one of her Representatives in Congress; by her historian; and by an eminent citizen, we have the confession not only of weakness, but that this weakness was caused by slavery. And yet, in the face of this cumulative and unimpeachable testimony, we are called to listen, in the American Senate, to a high-flying boast, from a venerable Senator, that American independence was achieved by the arms and treasure of "slaveholding communities;" an assumption, baseless as the fabric of a vision, in any way it may be interpreted; whether as meaning boldly that independence was achieved by those Southern States, which were the peculiar home of slavery, or that it was achieved by any strength or influence which came from that noxious source. Sir, I speak here for a Commonwealth of just renown, but I speak also for a cause which is more than any Commonwealth, even that which I represent; and I cannot allow the Senator, with his silver-white locks, to discredit either. Not by slavery, but in spite of it, was independence achieved. Not *because*, but *notwithstanding*, there were "slaveholding communities," did triumph descend upon our arms. It was the inspiration of Liberty Universal that conducted us through the red sea of the Revolution, as it had already given to the Declaration of Independence its mighty tone, resounding through the ages. "Let it be remembered," said the nation, speaking by the voice of the Continental Congress, at the close of the war, "that it has ever been the pride and boast of America, that the rights for which she has contended were THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE!" Yes, sir, in this behalf, and by this sign, we conquered.

Such, sir, is my answer on this head to the Senator from South Carolina. If the work which I undertook has been done thoroughly, he must not blame me. Whatever I undertake, I am apt to do thoroughly. But while thus repelling the insinuations against Massachusetts, and the assumptions for slavery, I would not unnecessarily touch the sensibilities of that Senator, or of the State which he represents. I cannot forget that, amidst all diversities of opinion, we are bound together by the ties of a common country—that Massachusetts and South Carolina are sister States, and that the concord of sisters ought to prevail between them; but I am constrained to declare, that I have throughout this debate sought in vain any token of that just spirit which, within the sphere of its influence, is calculated to promote the concord alike of States and individuals.

And now, for the present, I part with the venerable Senator from South Carolina. In pursuing his inconsistencies, and in exposing them to judgment, I had almost forgotten his associate leader in the wanton and personal assault to which I have been exposed—I mean the veteran Senator from Virginia, [Mr. MASON,] who is now directly in my eye. With imperious look, and in the style of Sir Forcible Feeble, that Senator has undertaken to call in question my statement that the Fugitive Slave Bill denied the writ of *habeas corpus;* and, in doing this, he has assumed a superiority for himself which, permit me to tell him now in this presence, nothing in him can sanction. Sir, I claim little for myself; but I shrink in no respect from any comparison with that Senator, veteran though he be. Sitting near him, as has been my fortune since I have been on this floor, I have come to know something of his conversation, something of his manners, something of his attainments, something of his abilities, something of his character—aye, sir, and something of *his* associations; and, while I would not undertake to disparage him in any of these respects, yet I feel that I do not exalt myself unduly—that I do not claim too much for the position which I hold, or the name which I have established, when I openly declare that, as a Senator of Massachusetts, and as a man, I place myself at every point in comparison with that honorable assailant. And to his peremptory assertion that the Fugitive Slave Bill does not deny the *habeas corpus*, I oppose my assertion, as peremptory as his own, that it does, and there I leave that question.

Mr. President, I welcome the sensibility which the Senator from Virginia displays at the exposure of the Fugitive Slave Bill in its true character. He is the author of that enormity. From his brain came forth the soulless monster. He is, therefore, its natural guardian. The Senator is, I believe, a lawyer. And now, since he has shown a disposition to meet objections to that offspring, he must not stop with the objection founded on the denial of the *habeas corpus.* It is true, sir, if anything but slavery were in question, such an objection would be fatal; but it is not to be supposed that the partisans of an institution founded on a denial of human rights, can appreciate the proper efficacy of that writ of freedom. Sir, I challenge the Senator to defend his progeny; not by assertion, but by reason. Let him rally all the ability, learning, and subtlety, which he can command, and undertake the impossible work.

Let him answer this objection. The Constitution, by an amendment which Samuel Adams hailed as a protection against the usurpations of the National Government, and which Jefferson asserted was our "foundation corner-stone," has solemnly declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Stronger words could not be employed to limit the powers under the Constitution, and to protect the people from all assumptions of the National Government, particularly in derogation of freedom. By the Virginia resolutions of 1798, which the Senator is reputed to accept, this limitation of the powers of the National Government is recognised and enforced. The Senator himself is understood, on all questions not affecting the claims of slavery, to accept this rule in its utmost strictness. Let him now indicate, if he can, any article, clause, phrase, or word, in the Constitution, which gives to Congress any power to establish a "uniform law throughout the United States" on the subject of fugitive slaves. Let him now show, if he can, from the records of the Federal Convention, one jot of evidence inclining to any such power. Whatever may be its interpretation in other respects, the clause on which this bill purports to be founded gives no such a power. Sir, nothing can come out of nothing; and the Fugitive Slave Bill is, therefore, without any source or origin in the Constitution. It is an open and unmitigated usurpation.

And, sir, when the veteran Senator of Virginia has answered this objection; when he has been able to find in the Constitution a power which is not to be found, and to make us see what is not to be seen, then let him answer another objection. The Constitution has secured the inestimable right of trial by jury in "suits at common law," where the value in controversy exceeds twenty dollars. Of course, freedom is not susceptible of pecuniary valuation, therefore there can be no question that the claim for a fugitive slave is within this condition. In determining what is meant by "suits at common law," recourse must be had to the common law itself, precisely as we resort to that law in order to determine what is meant by trial by jury. Let the Senator, if he be a lawyer, now undertake to show that a claim for a fugitive slave is not, according to the early precedents and writs, well known to the framers of the Constitution, especially to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, both of whom had studied law at the Temple, as a *suit at common law*, to which, under the solemn guaranty of the Constitution, is attached the trial by jury, as an inseparable incident. Let the Senator undertake to show this, if he can.

And, sir, when the veteran Senator has found a power in the Constitution where none exists, and has set aside the right of trial by jury in a suit at common law, then let him answer yet another objection. By the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, a claim for a fugitive slave is declared to be a case, under the Constitution, within the judicial power; and this judgment of the Court is confirmed by common sense and common law. Let the Senator undertake to show, if he can, how such an exalted exercise of judicial power can be confided to a single petty magistrate, appointed not by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, but by the Court; holding his office, not during good behaviour, but merely during the will of the Court; and receiving not a regular salary, but fees according to each individual case. Let the Senator answer this objection, if, in any way, by any twist of learning, logic, or law, he can.

Thus, sir, do I present the issue directly on this outrageous enactment. Let the author of the Fugitive Slave Bill meet it. He will find me ready to follow him in argument, though I trust never to be led, even by his example, into any departure from those courtesies of debate which are essential to the harmony of every legislative body.

Such, Mr. President, is my response to all that has been said in this debate, so far as it concerns me. To the two associate chieftains in this personal assault, the veteran Senator from Virginia, and the Senator from South Carolina, with the silver-white locks, I have replied completely. It is true that others have joined in the cry, which these associates first started; but I shall not be tempted farther. Some persons are best answered by silence; best answered by withholding the words which leap impulsively to the lips.

And now, turning my back upon these things, let me, for one moment, before I close, dwell on one aspect of this discussion which will render it memorable. On former occasions like this, the right of petition has been vehemently assailed, or practically denied. Only two years ago, memorials for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill, presented by me, were laid on your table, Mr. President, without reference to any committee. All is changed now. Senators have condemned the memorial, and sounded the cry of "treason," "treason," in our ears; but thus far, throughout this excited debate, no person has so completely outraged the spirit of our institutions, or forgotten himself, as to persist in objecting to the reception of the memorial, and its proper reference. It is true, the remonstrants have been treated with indignity; but the great right of petition—the sword and buckler of the citizen—though discredited by such conduct, has not been denied. Here, sir, is a triumph of Freedom.

☞ At New York, on Thursday, the steamboat Buffalo, lying at her wharf on the North river, sunk to her upper deck, having on board at the time five hundred German emigrants for the West. They were all saved, with their baggage much damaged. The port-hole forward had been stupidly left open.

☞ The New York *Freeman's Journal*, a Roman Catholic paper, has suspended its semi-weekly issue, and will hereafter be published weekly only.

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Washington, D. C., 1854.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1854.

☞ Any friend of the *Era*, impressed with the importance of extending its subscription list, and disposed to try his hand at it, is invited to do so. By communicating with us, he can have the list of subscribers at his office, and the times when their subscriptions are expiring. Some of the voluntary agents to whom we have addressed circulars, have responded cordially. Others are silent, as they have a perfect right to be—but who will volunteer to make up their lack? Please look at the terms.

SPEECH OF MR. SUMNER.

A great debate took place in the Senate, June 26th and June 28th, on occasion of the presentation of a memorial from Boston for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Mr. Sumner was assailed with great bitterness and coarseness, but he soon turned upon his assailants, with a power that utterly discomfited them. Of the debate on the 26th, we present on our first page the graphic, condensed report prepared for the associated press in New York. Mr. Sumner's speech, on the 28th, as revised by himself, we publish on our second page, crowding out a great deal of editorial to make room for it. Its argument is overwhelming—and its personalities are withering, although strictly within the bounds of parliamentary decorum.

HERBERT'S "SAXON SERF."

It gives us sincere pleasure to state that there is now a strong probability that we may be able to resume the publication of the admirable story, THE SAXON SERF, which was commenced last November, and suspended last winter, owing to "a want of copy" from the author. He has forwarded us, since then, four chapters in continuation, and promises that the whole shall be delivered this month.

MRS. STOWE ONCE MORE.

Our readers will rejoice to learn that it is the intention of Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE to furnish a series of contributions for the *National Era*, under the title of "THE ANDOVER PORTFOLIO." In a note to us, dated June 27, she says:

"I will as soon as possible do something. I will establish a department, and call it, 'The Andover Portfolio,' in which I will, from time to time, throw such stray leaves of thought as may be wafted to me from the beautiful influence of our scenery and air. In about a week or ten days, I will forward you a number."

"HOLLY-WOOD,"

A story by ALICE CAREY, will be continued in the next number of the *Era.*

We have also on hand, for the remaining part of this volume, some admirable sketches of the Neutral French in Massachusetts, from a new but ready pen at Cambridge; and translations from the Russian of Paushkin, the famous Russian poet.

Our readers will see that we hold out ample inducements to new subscribers.

THE MOVEMENT IN THE WEST.

The Ordinance for the government of "the Northwestern Territory," out of which have been formed the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, bears date July 13, 1787. After providing the form of government, it proceeds to enact certain fundamental articles, specifying the objects in the following preamble:

"And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these Republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of States and permanent Governments therein, and for their admission to a share in the Federal Councils, on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest: *It is hereby* ordained and declared, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said Territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent."

There are six of these articles of compact, providing solemn guarantees for freedom of conscience, right of trial by jury, habeas corpus, fair representation, and all needful safeguards for personal rights. The last article specially has made the day on which the Ordinance was adopted, worthy of perpetual commemoration:

"ARTICLE 6. There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."

The Territory organized under this compact was then a wilderness; but, in the course of half a century, it was formed into five powerful States, comprising an aggregate area of two hundred and twenty-seven thousand square miles, and a total population, in 1850, of four and a half millions, all freemen, maintaining free-labor institutions, and nobly illustrating their beneficence and wisdom.

The policy which has given these free States to the Union, having been repudiated and trampled upon by the Slave Power and its instruments, the Administration and the so-called Democrats at the North and West who sustain it, the People of those States severally propose to hold State Conventions on the 13th day of July ensuing, to commemorate the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, and confer together on the best measures for punishing those who have dishonored and betrayed the fundamental Principles of Civil and Religious Liberty which it establishes, and for bringing back the Federal Government to the doctrines and spirit which pervaded the Congress that enacted that glorious Ordinance.

The movement is made, irrespectively of Party. It concerns the honor, the interests, and safety of the People, and the People are taking the lead in it.

The call for the Convention in Ohio has been in circulation all over the States; thousands upon thousands of names have been sent to the Committee appointed at Columbus to receive them, and thousands more are rolling in. The *Ohio State Journal* says, the design was to have the call, with all the names attached thereto, printed in its columns, "*but the thing is impossible!*"

"We have not in the office, nor is there in the city, capital letters enough to begin to set the initials of the names. There is no way of accomplishing the demand upon us, short of sending off to the type founder's for a supply of letter for this especial purpose."

The *Journal* adds:

"It is emphatically *a movement of the* PEOPLE; the call for a Convention has gone forth as with a shout; the People *know what they are about*, this time, and they will be heard through their delegates on the 13th.

"Take, for instance, a call returned from one locality in Stark county. The signers stand recorded:

Democrats	- - -	45
Free-Soilers	- - -	10
Whigs	- - -	62—117

"Another comes from Lucas county, with the signers designated as follows:

Hunker Democrats	- -	32
Free Soil do	- -	14
Hunker Whigs	- -	28
Free Soil do	- -	4
Abolition Independents	-	5—83

In INDIANA, the *State Journal* of the 19th contains the following call:

"A majority of the recent Democratic Convention having adopted resolutions setting forth a platform of principles to which we believe a majority of the people of this State are opposed, we therefore call upon all such opponents, of whatever party, to meet at Indianapolis on the 13th day of July next, at 10 o'clock A. M., to adopt such measures in relation thereto as they may deem proper."

This notice is subscribed by the names of some sixty or seventy citizens, including a large number of Democrats, of the counties of Floyd, Parke, Ripley, and Dearborn. The *Journal* says that letters from both Democrats and Whigs have been received from every part of the State, urging the call of this Convention, and that there is a determination on the part of the people to forget all former party distinctions in their effort to put the seal of their disapprobation on the principles promulgated by the Pierce State Convention.

The People seem to think it of more importance to sustain the great Principle of Civil and Religious Liberty, than Franklin Pierce and Jesse D. Bright.

The call for a State Mass Convention in Wisconsin has been issued but a short time, but the quick response indicates the temper of the People. The *Free Democrat*, of Milwaukie, Wisconsin, says:

"All the Free Democratic presses—three dailies and seven weeklies; all the Whig papers but two—two dailies and eight weeklies; and two Democratic papers—the Watertown *Register* and Monroe *Sentinel*—have responded to the call for a Mass State Convention of the People, at Madison, on the 13th of July. The remaining two Whig papers—the Lancaster *Herald* and the Kenosha *Tribune*—we doubt not will do so, but we have not received their issues since the call was published. We think we may say that the desire for such a Convention and union of the people in a great Freedom Party, is cordial and earnest among the Whigs and Free Democrats, and a large portion of those who have formerly acted with the old Democratic party."

We are not aware that the arrangements in ILLINOIS for such a Convention have yet been perfected. No time should be lost. From the State of Douglas especially let a voice go forth in stern reprobation of his apostacy from the original policy of the Government.

The Mass Convention, called to meet at Kalamazoo, Mich., on the 21st inst., by the Independent Democratic Central Committee, has been held, and its proceedings are before us. The most earnest and liberal spirit pervaded at its counsels. While asserting the true principles of Anti-Slavery action, it generously pledged the Party to surrender its name, and its candidates, provided the People, without distinction of Party, would take the right ground, and organize for efficient operations. The liberal press of the State, not connected with the Independent Democratic organizations, speaks in praise of its wise and conciliating policy. We copy the following from the series of resolutions adopted:

"*Resolved*, That in the recent passage of the bill for the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, we see the crowning act of a series of aggressions, by which the sectional and exceptional character of Slavery has been gradually changed, until it has become the great national interest of the country, for the protection of which every other interest must be sacrificed; and its power has become so potent, that from the President to the Postmaster, all the functionaries of the Executive Government, and a majority in Congress, are twisted and corrupted by it into absolute subjection to its insulting demands.

"*Resolved*, That evils so great as these demand a remedy; and that if that remedy cannot be found in the virtue of the people, a people who are yet true to the instincts of liberty, to the immortal principles promulgated by the fathers of the Constitution—a people who enjoy the blessings of a Government they established, and a people who are yet willing to display something of the energy and perseverance, and if need be sacrifice, which moved the patriots of '76 to the accomplishment of their great work, then the days of the Republic are numbered, and it must soon become what its laws will make it, a nation of slaves.

"*Resolved*, That we do not and will not despair; that we believe the people of this State are ready to respond to the call of their country in this emergency; that they are ready, irrespective of all past political preferences, to declare in an unmistakable tone their will; and that will is, that Slavery aggression upon their rights shall go no further—that there shall be no compromise with Slavery—that there shall be no more slave States—that there shall be no slave Territory—that the Fugitive Slave Law shall be repealed—that the abominations of Slavery shall no further be perpetrated under the sanctions of the Federal Constitution—and that they will make their will effective by driving from every place of official power the public servants who have so shamelessly betrayed their trust, and by putting in their places men who are honest and capable; men who will be faithful to the Constitution and the great claims of humanity.

Resolved, That the Free Democracy of Michigan rejoice to behold the indications of popular sentiments furnished by this Convention; they are confident that the deeply aroused feeling of the masses of this State will seek a suitable expression in a Convention springing from themselves, irrespective of every existing political organization; and that if such a movement shall be animated and guided by the principles expressed in the resolutions of this Convention, and shall contemplate an efficient organization to give effect to our own principles in this State, we shall willingly surrender our distinctive organization, and with it the ticket for State officers nominated at Jackson, on the 22d of February last, and that we commit the execution of this purpose to a committee of nine, to be appointed by the Convention to carry the above design into execution.

It would seem that the General Convention for Michigan, is to meet on the 6th of July. We could wish it had been appointed for the 13th.

THE INFERNAL MACHINE.—Mr. and Mrs. Allison, who were injured by the explosion of the mysterious box sent to the Marine Hospital, at Cincinnati, are both dead. A fellow named Conwell committed a murder some time since, and Allison was acquainted with the facts, and it is supposed that Conwell tried in this manner to take the life of Allison.

☞ The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Buffalo has formally excommunicated the trustees who hold and refuse to give up to him the Church property.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE EASTERN AND MIDDLE STATES.

We have already noticed the Convention of the Morrill Democracy in Maine, its adoption of an Anti-Slavery and Maine Law platform, and the intimation thrown out by the *Portland Inquirer*, that it is the intention of the Independent Democracy to adopt its ticket.

As the Whigs alone can accomplish little in that State, and sympathize cordially with the Principles announced by the Anti-Slavery and Temperance Democracy, we suppose they will not hesitate as to their true policy.

In VERMONT, although the Whigs at their State Convention took unexceptionable ground against Slavery, and nominated a ticket honestly representing the principles set forth, they are uniting, we observe, in a call for a General State Convention, of all the opponents of the Nebraska outrage, without distinction of party. The call runs as follows:

"All persons who are in favor of resisting, by all constitutional means, the usurpation of the Propagandists of Slavery, are invited, without distinction of party, to meet in Mass Convention, at Montpelier, on the fourth day of July, at twelve o'clock, noon, to nominate candidates for the approaching election, and to take such measures as will, in all future elections, enable the People of Vermont to give a practical expression of their sentiments at the polls."

Another Call is in circulation, naming the 13th of July as the day of meeting. Let there be no conflict. Where all are agreed as to object, differences on unimportant preliminaries should not be allowed to divide them. The Vermont *Statesman* says, "It is not fully decided whether the Mass Convention shall be on the 4th or the 13th of July; but if there should be any change, it will be noticed next week." Why not make the change to the 13th? It will give more time, and, besides, it will add new interest to a day to be rendered memorable by similar State Conventions in the West.

The Whigs of NEW HAMPSHIRE held their State Convention at Concord, a few days since, and nominated James Bell as their candidate for Governor. They passed a series of resolutions, from which we extract the material ones:

"*Resolved*, That it was the policy of the fathers of the Republic to confine Slavery to its then existing limits, as is evinced by the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, applied to all the Territories of the Union, and by subsequent acts passed during the Administrations of Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe.

"*Resolved*, That the prohibition of Slavery by the act of 1820, known as the Missouri Compromise, as well as the time when, and the circumstances under which, the act was passed, pledged in the most solemn manner the faith and honor of the National Government, and of those States which sustain Slavery within their borders, against the repeal of the same.

"*Resolved*, That the repeal of that prohibition by the Nebraska and Kansas bill is destructive of mutual confidence between the States of this Union; is exposing the Union itself to imminent danger; is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of natural justice; and is destructive of all confidence in the integrity, good faith, and honor, of the National and State Government favoring such repeal.

"*Resolved*, That the people of the free States ought at once to take any and all proper measures in their power to procure a repeal of as much of the Nebraska bill as abrogates the prohibition of slavery, contained in the act of 1820; and to labor at all times and seasons, until that prohibition shall be restored.

"*Resolved*, That, as a portion of the people of the Free States, we will never consent to the admission of any State from the territory in which it was prohibited by the act of 1820, unless Slavery shall be forever excluded therefrom.

"*Resolved*, That, while we avow our determination to stand by the compact already made, creating an inequality of representation in favor of slave States now in the Union, yet a decent self-respect forbids the extension of a principle so odious and degrading; and we are, therefore, unutterably opposed to the formation of any political connection with countries, not now in the Union, upon such unequal terms."

The resolutions are good, so far as they go, but they indicate a spirit and policy much below those exhibited by the Vermont resolutions. They are not up to the responsibilities and duties of the free States. Nor do we see any intimation of a desire for a new, general, more efficient organization of the opponents of Slavery. Of course, our friends in New Hampshire will maintain and infuse new life into their own organization. The Administration Party will rejoice to see its adversaries divided, as it will afford them a chance to regain what it has lost. The Slavery-conspirators at Washington will be no less gratified. Would to Heaven that the remembrance of every party name and epithet that have hitherto marked and inflamed party differences in the free States, could suddenly and forever be effaced!

The Whig Central Committee of MASSACHUSETTS has issued an Address calling a Whig State Convention, to meet in August next. The Address gives great prominence to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in relation to which it says:

"Upon the recklessness, the perfidy, and the infamy, of this deed, it is needless to enlarge, because upon these characteristics of the act there is no difference of opinion among the Whigs of Massachusetts, *or* of any of the free States—and if there be one among us who does not regard himself and his party as absolutely released from every contract, compromise, or understanding, moral or conventional, expressed or implied, upon the subject of Slavery, the main and direct provisions to the Constitution always excepted—we can only say that his name has been unspoken in our ears. Of course, it cannot be supposed that under such an outrage as the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to say nothing of the other enormities, the rumors of which are floated to us on every breeze, the free States will lie down in meek submission. Even now from the lips of every freeman comes the demand for the instant restoration of that great bulwark of freedom, and it will be among the grave matters for the consideration of the next Convention, as it is already the subject of earnest inquiry among individuals, whether we can now satisfy ourselves with the simple restoration of that which has been torn down, or whether we ought not to resolve upon some further action, having for its object not merely the recovery of the ground lost for a time to Freedom, but the erection of impregnable barriers against the extension of Slavery and the unceasing assaults of the slave power. With no responsibility for the renewal of the agitation of Slavery, and with the lesson so lately taught us, that no compact is sacred to the South the moment they have nothing to gain by it, we have only now to seek what measures are best adapted to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and to this end we invoke the aid of every member of the Whig party, and the co-operation of all who sincerely desire to check the encroachments of Slavery and to secure the triumph of free principles throughout our vast territory."

We are glad to see that there is an intimation that the Whigs of Massachusetts may deem it expedient to unite with all other opponents of Slavery, no matter whether Democrats or Independent Democrats. Of course, it will be for the Convention to say. If determined to repel all association, and by this short-sighted policy check the general movement in favor of Freedom, it will assume a fearful responsibility. The Independent Democrats, who have cast thirty-five thousand votes in Massachusetts, have gone as far as self-respect and the interests of the Cause of Freedom would justify, in their offer to unite, in disregard of their own organization, with Whigs or Democrats who would disregard their organization, for the sake of overthrowing the Slave Power. If the offer be declined, they will stick to their own organization, and, knowing that they represent pre-eminently the Principles just now most important in the judgment of all Liberty-loving citizens, they will appeal to the People.

To maintain the Whig organization, is to maintain the Democratic—to keep up both, is to keep down the free States under the heel of the Slave Power. Keep up such organizations, and you leave Independent Democrats no alternative but to stand by theirs.

To-morrow, we intend to take a survey of the Administration Party, and that portion of Democrats who still cling to it.

AN ACT FOR THE DEFENCE OF LIBERTY IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

A great clamor has been raised about a nullification act, said to have been passed within a few days by the Legislature of Connecticut. We find this act, with a report of the proceedings thereon, in the New Haven *Journal and Courier*. It is entitled "An act for the Defence of Liberty in this State, and is as follows:

An Act for the Defence of Liberty in this State.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Assembly convened:

SEC. 1. Every person who shall falsely and maliciously declare, represent, or pretend, that any free person is a slave, or owes service or labor to any person or persons, with intent to procure, or to aid, or assist in procuring, the forcible removal of such free person from this State as a slave, shall pay a fine of five thousand dollars, and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State prison.

SEC. 2. In all cases arising under this act, the truth of any declaration, pretence, or representation, that any person being or having been in this State, is or was a slave, or owes or did owe service or labor to any other person or persons, shall not be deemed proved except by the testimony of at least two credible witnesses testifying to facts directly tending to establish the truth of such declaration, pretence, or representation, or by legal evidence equivalent thereto.

SEC. 3. Every person who shall wrongfully and maliciously seize, or procure to be seized, any free person entitled to freedom, with intent to have such free person held in slavery, shall pay a fine of five thousand dollars, and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State prison.

SEC. 4. Upon the trial of any prosecution arising under this act, no deposition shall be admitted as evidence of the truth of any statement in such deposition contained.

SEC. 5. If, upon the trial of any prosecution arising under this act, any witness shall, in behalf of the party accused, and with intent to aid him in his defence, falsely and wilfully, in testifying, represent or pretend that any person is or ever was a slave, or does or ever did owe service or labor to any person or persons, such witness shall pay a fine of five thousand dollars, and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State prison.

SEC. 6. Whenever complaint or information shall be made against any person for any offence described in any section of this act, and upon such complaint or information, a warrant shall have been duly issued for the arrest of such person, any person who shall hinder or obstruct a sheriff, deputy sheriff, or constable, in the service of such warrant, or shall aid such accused person in escaping from the pursuit of such officer, shall be imprisoned one year in the Connecticut State Prison.

SEC. 7. No declaration, pretence, or representation, that any person is or was an apprentice for a term of years, or owes or did owe service merely as such an apprentice for such fixed term, shall be deemed prohibited by this act; and no such declaration, pretence, or representation, that any person is or was such an apprentice for such fixed term, or owes or did owe service merely as such an apprentice for such fixed term, shall render any person liable to any penalty under this act.

While the bill was under discussion in the House, June 28th, Mr. Hyde remarked that it would nullify the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the land. Mr. Brandagee denied this—if he thought the bill in conflict with the United States Constitution, he would vote against it. Mr. Oakley merely contended for the defence of liberty and the protection of freemen. South Carolina can take a Northern freeman and imprison him; and shall we not protect the rights of men in this State? Mr. Cornwell asked, will not the bill conflict with that part of the Fugitive Slave Law, relating to evidence? Mr. Brandagee answered, that the Commissioner is merely a ministerial officer—he has nothing to do with judicial evidence—this law is designed to bring the matter where evidence can be presented.

Motions to amend, and to indefinitely postpone, were severally rejected, and the Bill then passed—yeas 112, nays 85.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

We rejoice to see that the first step towards the organization of a People's Party has been taken in Massachusetts. A correspondent, writing from Boston, says:

"You will see that the right movement for the new Freedom Party in this State has commenced at old Concord, a most fitting place, for here commenced the old fight for freedom, and here begins the new one. The public mind is all ripe for the formation of the new party."

Representatives of all parties attended the meeting at Concord, which was held on the 22d. John S. Keyes, Sheriff of Middlesex county, presided. Nathan Brooks, Dr. Reynolds, and S. G. Wheeler, Whigs; W. E. Robinson and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Independent Democrats; C. C. Hazewell and Simon Brown, Democrats, were present, and took an active part. The following gentlemen were appointed a committee, to address the friends of freedom throughout the State: Samuel Hoar, C. C. Hazewell, D. Shattuck, Addison G. Fay, Simon Brown, and R. W. Emerson. In its circular, the committee says:

"The inhabitants of Concord, influenced by the feelings which seem to pervade the Commonwealth, anxiously inquire what the free States will do, or should do, in relation to the Nebraska law. They think that no section of this State should adopt any practical measure which may conflict with the views and purposes of other parts of the Commonwealth. They desire to confer with some of their fellow-citizens in different parts of the State, on the subject of calling a State Convention, to consider and determine what measures the exigency of the time demand of Massachusetts."

A Call for a State Convention is now in circulation. The People are moving, and we hope the old political leaders and their organizations will have the good sense rather to aid than obstruct the popular movement.

MURDER BY AN INFERNAL MACHINE.—On the evening of the 26th, a box was sent to the Marine Hospital, on the corner of Longworth and Western Row, Cincinnati, and deposited in the room of the steward, Mr. S. H. Allison.

At about ten o'clock, the steward and his wife, being alone in the room, opened the box, when it exploded, mangling the bodies of both horribly. Mrs. Allison had both arms torn off and her skull fractured. Mr. Allison was dreadfully mangled. The furniture, windows, and ceiling of the room, were shattered to atoms.

The indications are, that the box contained a bomb-shell about six inches in diameter. There is no clue to the perpetrator of this awful outrage.

MAINE.—The Whig State Convention, to nominate candidates for Governor and State officers, assembled at Portland yesterday. It was the largest political convention ever held in the State. The Hon. Horace Porter, of Kennebunk, was chosen President, and Hon. Isaac Read, of Waldoboro', was nominated as their candidate for Governor. The Convention adopted decided Anti-Nebraska resolutions, and passed resolutions in favor of the Maine law, and urging the modification of the Fugitive Slave Law.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT,
By and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

FOR THE TERRITORY OF NEBRASKA.

William O. Butler, of Kentucky, to be Governor.

Thomas B. Cumming, of Iowa, to be Secretary.

Fenner Ferguson, of Michigan, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Edwin R. Hardin, of Georgia, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

James Bradley, of Indiana, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Experience Estabrook, of Wisconsin, to be Attorney.

Mark W. Izard, of Arkansas, to be Marshal.

FOR THE TERRITORY OF KANSAS.

Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, to be Governor.

Daniel Woodson, of Virginia, to be Secretary.

Madison Brown, of Maryland, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Sanders W. Johnson, of Ohio, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Rush Ellmore, of Alabama, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Andrew J. Isaacs, of Louisiana, to be Attorney.

J. B. Donaldson, of Louisiana, to be Marshal.

Three slaveholding and four non-slaveholding appointments in Nebraska, the important ones of Governor and Marshal being assigned to the Slave States. As to Kansas, the character of the appointments demonstrates the design to favor the institution and establishment of Slavery there—five slaveholders, only two non-slaveholders, and of these, Mr. Reeder, the Governor, is from Pennsylvania, among the free States, the Keystone of Slavery. Every branch of the Executive department is placed under the control of the Slave Interest. The Washington *Sentinel* says, from all it can learn, Mr. Reeder "is a sound constitutional Democrat, unbiased by sectional prejudice." We all know what this means. But, the *Sentinel*, not content that the Attorney, the Marshal, the Chief Judges, and a majority of the Court, and the Secretary, are from the Slave States, insists that a *Southern Governor* ought to have been appointed for the Territory, *whose domestic institutions and interests would be congenial with his own.* It is instructive to see how confidently these slaveholders speak. By the way, we can gratify the *Sentinel* by informing its editor that S. W. Johnson, credited to Ohio, is a Kentuckian, and a doughty pro-slavery man.

There was no necessity for dividing the Territory of Nebraska—one Government, everybody knows, would have sufficed for the whole. The object of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Atchison, in cutting off that portion of it directly west of Missouri, and giving it a separate Territorial Government, was to force the introduction of Slavery. Keeping this object solely in view, President Pierce has taken all its officers from the South, except one, and he is selected from Pennsylvania, whose votes carried the Bill, and is pronounced trustworthy by the *Sentinel*.

We talk of the Slavery Propagandism of the South, but it finds its principal agents in the North. Pierce and Douglas are its pioneers in Kansas.

THE FOREIGN NEWS—RELATION OF GREAT BRITAIN TO CANADA.

By the Europa we have intelligence from the seat of war, to the 9th of June. It is but the old story—nothing decisive. The Russians have not been dislodged—Silistria has not been taken—there has been no signal engagement on land or water. A Paris correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, who has seen a letter, dated at Constantinople, from Col. Banks, An American officer, now in the service of the Turks, says that the Colonel charges the English and French papers with exaggerating, for the purpose of keeping up the warfare at home. The submission of the Greeks, he represents as one of compulsion. They arouse the English and French to a war, and yet the London and Paris journals report that King Otho and his subjects are overjoyed at the intentions of the allies. According to the Colonel, the majority of successes so far have been on the side of the Russians; the Turkish reports of immense losses on the part of the enemy are exaggerations; and that the Turkish army of Asia is in so critical a condition, that unless reinforced it will be cut to pieces.

"There are 250,000 Russians on Turkish soil, while opposed to them are at present but 60,000 English and French, and 120,000 Turks. This force, united and strongly intrenched, can act on the defensive; but as for acting on the offensive, he considers it impossible. They may defend the passage of the Balkans, but they cannot drive the Russians out of the Principalities."

We fear there is too much truth in all this.

The most interesting portion of the news by the Europa relates to a short but piquant debate in the British House of Lords, on the 14th June, on the second reading of the CANADIAN LEGISLATIVE COLONIAL BILL. The Duke of Newcastle having stated that the object of the bill is to repeal those clauses in the Union act which prohibit legislation in the Canadian Parliament on the subject of a Legislative Council, and to leave the Colonial Legislature entirely free to act as they see fit in relation to the creation of a second chamber, Lord ELLENBOROUGH took occasion to announce his views in favor of the INDEPENDENCE of the COLONIES. As Lord Ellenborough belongs to the higher aristocracy of the realm, and is a Tory in his politics, his views are the more significant.

That countries, so extensive, so full of resources, so rapidly growing in population and wealth, as the British provinces in America, should much longer continue in a condition of Colonial subjection, no man of intelligence and forecast can suppose. The most enlightened statesmen of England must contemplate the probability of this event, and certainly the policy of their Government seems to be shaped so as to facilitate the change, and make it as little inconvenient to both parties as may be.

The Independence of the Colonies will by no means involve annexation to this country. They begin to feel their power; they know that they have a basis for their empire larger even than the area of the United States; with more pride and self-confidence than they possessed when comparatively feeble, they may see nothing in annexation to this country to compensate them for the loss of that distinct nationality which has already sprung up among them. Besides, the public sentiment of the Colonies is so strong against Slavery, that their people revolt at the idea of involving themselves in any way in its support, especially by assuming the obligation of the infamous Fugitive Slave Act. That measure has done more than anything else, to check and abate the popular feeling in favor of annexation, which prevailed four or five years ago. Of course, should there be a dissolution of the Union between the free and slave States, a union of Canada with the former would soon follow, as a natural consequence.

There can be no doubt that Slaveholding Statesmen look with extreme jealousy on every movement calculated to increase the friendly feelings between the Northern States and the Canadas, and multiply their business and social ties. For this reason, the Fishery and Reciprocity Treaty, adjusting, as it does, all important questions of controversy between Great Britain and the United States, admirably adapted to perpetuate their peaceful relations, and providing for interests of immense magnitude, without sacrifice to the local interests of any section, will encounter, we apprehend, determined resistance in the Senate. Indeed, we must express our doubt whether the Slavery Propagandists in that body will not rally a majority against its ratification.

DEBATE IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT ON CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE.

The Earl of Ellenborough did not rise to oppose the second reading of this bill, but to express his opinion on a subject of greater importance. We made such progress last year in the work of concession to Canada, that the question now was, not whether we should stop in our career, still less whether we should attempt to go back, but whether we should not, in the most friendly spirit toward Canada and the other North American colonies, consult with their Legislatures on the expediency of taking measures for the complete release of those colonies from all dependence on the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain. He recollected having a conversation with Mr. Huskisson, in 1828, during the time that statesman held the seals of the Colonial office, in which he intimated most distinctly that the time had already arrived for the separation of Canada from this country, and Mr. Huskisson had even so maturely considered the matter, that he mentioned the form of Government which he thought it would be for our interest to have established in Canada when our connection with the colony should cease. It must be borne in mind that, during the last few years, a complete change had taken place in our relations with the North American colonies. In 1846 we repealed the corn laws, without reserving the privileges which Canada enjoyed under them. At a subsequent period we repealed the navigation laws, which gave us great advantages in matters of trade and navigation.

In addition to those measures, we had altered, to a great extent—if we had not entirely abolished—the discriminating duties on the staple produce of the North American colonies. Thus we have deprived ourselves and the North American colonies of the advantages which each formerly derived from the connection subsisting between them. For several years, too, in dealing with the Legislative Assemblies of the colonies, we had acted on a principle diametrically opposed to that which formerly influenced us; we had established in the colonies what was called responsible government, or, to speak more intelligibly, we had given them, practically, independent Governments. And, really, he could hardly imagine a situation more humiliating than that of the Representative of Her Majesty in Canada. It was almost wonderful a British gentleman would consent to hold such a situation of nullity, unless, indeed, from a consciousness of his own abilities and resources, he should think himself able to be, as Lord Metcalfe was, the Minister of the Colony. What was the use, what the practical advantage, of continuing our connection with the colonies? The connection might be of some small use in time of peace; but, on the other hand, consider the danger arising from it in matters relating to war. There could be no doubt that the chances of collision between this country and the United States were greatly increased by our connection with the North American colonies. It was equally certain that in the event of war occurring between this country and the United States, on grounds totally unconnected with the colonies, they must, from their connection with us, be drawn into the war, and their whole frontier would be exposed to the greatest calamities. Under these circumstances, it was a matter worthy of serious consideration, whether we should not endeavor, in the most friendly manner, to divest ourselves of a connection which must prove equally onerous to both parties.

Now, in case of war, could we hope to defend the colonies successfully? He would advise, not the noble Duke opposite, who, to his great satisfaction, had been released from the duties of the Colonial office, but the Right Hon. Baronet who had succeeded him, to read a dispatch received from Lord Metcalfe in 1846. We were then, it was supposed, on the eve of a war with the United States—a war connected with matters in which Canada had no concern—a war for an object the value of which was not, to either party equal to the expense of one week's hostilities. Let the Colonial Secretary read Lord Metcalfe's dispatch, and see the amount of military aid which would be required to enable us successfully to defend Canada. At the time, he (Lord Ellenborough) thought Lord Metcalfe's estimate was extravagant, and he did not attach any great weight to that noble Lord's unsupported opinion; but, having consulted persons who from their position were most competent to decide upon the question, he found they confirmed Lord Metcalfe's estimate as to the amount of force necessary to defend Canada successfully, and it was utterly beyond the means of this country to provide it. It might be said we did successfully defend Canada in 1814, and that we had made great progress in wealth since. That he admitted, and he wished that he could add that we had made equal progress in military strength.

If, however, we had advanced in the career of prosperity, consider the enormous progress which the United States had made in their innumerable railroads, their well-appointed and well-disciplined army—an advantage which they did not formerly possess, for they conducted the war in 1814 with a mere rabble. Considering the increased strength and appliances at the command of the United States, it would hardly be possible to defend Canada with any hope of success. The very idea of a war with the United States was horrible. The event would be one of the greatest evils; one of the direst of human afflictions. Connected as we are in all the details of commerce, it would be more like tearing asunder the limbs of one human body than the collision of two separate bodies. Why, needlessly, increase the chances of war? Our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic are very ambitious, and extremely sensitive on the point of honor. So were we; and we were also extremely sensitive on the point of justice. Not only would we not endure injustice to ourselves, but we could not tolerate the perpetration of injustice to another.

These considerations should lead us to regard a rupture with the United States as an event which might happen at some period. Under these circumstances, he hoped that, at an early period, the Government would communicate with the leading persons in the Legislative Assemblies of the North American colonies, with the view of ascertaining their opinion on the subject of a separation. We should consult with them in the most friendly spirit, as if they were members of one and the same family, in which we felt a deep concern.

The Duke of Newcastle retorted, that he was astonished that the Earl of Ellenborough should propound opinions which would be as unpalatable to the people of the Colonies as they were to their lordships of that House. He (the Duke of Newcastle) would inform the noble Earl that he did not belong to a Government which would consent to making such proposals to the people of Canada. For his part, he looked upon such a proposal as an offence against the dignity and sovereignty of Britain, and hostile to the best interests of the colonists.

Lord Brougham asked why the Duke of Newcastle should so vehemently denounce the proposal of the separation of these colonies from the parent State? The proposal was not novel. It had been entertained and expressed by many eminent men. For himself, he would respectfully recommend to the people of Canada so to select the members of their second Chamber, that that Chamber should not be a mere duplicate of the Lower House.

The Duke of Newcastle replied, that the bill was a mere ennobling bill, and there was nothing in it to prevent the local Legislature from electing the members of the Upper House for life, or for a certain number of years.

The bill was then read a second time.

NEGRO VOTERS.—The lower House of the Connecticut Legislature, by a vote of 116 to 78, have passed a resolution to amend the State Constitution so as to allow negroes to vote on the same terms as white men. Also, (106 to 80) an amendment to prohibit any person from voting who cannot read. These proposed amendments were then ordered to be continued to the next Legislature, and published with the laws.

BOSTON, JULY 3.—There are reports of cholera cases. Four persons have died in one family.

VOTE ON THE TEN MILLION APPROPRIATION.

As a record of importance in future times, we give place to the yeas and nays on the question of appropriating ten millions of dollars to purchase a portion of the territory of Mexico, in the United States House of Representatives, June 28, 1854:

YEAS—Messrs. Abercrombie, Aiken, Jas. C. Allen, Willis Allen, Ashe, David J. Bailey, Barksdale, Barry, Belcher, Bell, Bliss, Bocock, Boyce, Breckinridge, Bridges, Brooks, Caskie, Chamberlain, Chastain, Chrisman, Clark, Clingman, Cobb, Colquitt, Cox, Curtis, J. G. Davis, Dawson, Dean, Disney, Dowdell, Eddy, Edmundson, J. M. Elliott, Ellison, Ewing, Faulkner, Florence, Gamble, Goode, Greenwood, Grow, S. W. Harris, Hendricks, Henn, Hillyer, Houston, Hunt, Ingersoll, Johnson, George W. Jones, J. Glancy Jones, Roland Jones, Keitt, Kerr, Kidwell, Kurtz, Lamb, Letcher, Lindsley, McDougall, McMullen, McNair, Macy, Maxwell, Smith Miller, Millson, Olds, Orr, Packer, John Perkins, jr., Phillips, Powell, Pratt, Preston, Puryear, Reese, Richardson, Riddle, Robbins, Rowe, Ruffin, Seward, Shannon, Shaw, Singleton, Samuel A. Smith, W. Smith, G. W. Smyth, F. P. Stanton, H. L. Stevens, Straub, David Stuart, John J. Taylor, Thurston, Vail, Vansant, Walker, Walsh, Westbrook, Daniel B. Wright, and Zollicoffer—103.

NAYS—Messrs. Bennett, Benson, Benton, Campbell, Carpenter, Chandler, Cook, Crocker, Cullom, Thomas Davis, De Witt, Dick, Dickinson, Eastman, Thomas D. Eliot, Everhart, Farley, Fenton, Flagler, Giddings, Goodrich, A. Harlan, Harrison, Hastings, Haven, Hiester, Howe, Hughes, Daniel T. Jones, Knox, Lindley, McCulloch, Matteson, Mayall, Middleswarth, J. G. Miller, Morgan, Murray, Norton, Andrew Oliver, Mordecai Oliver, Parker, Peckham, Pennington, Bishop Perkins, Pringle, David Ritchie, Russell, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Gerrit Smith, John L. Taylor, Nathaniel G. Taylor, Upham, Wade, Walley, E. B. Washburne, Israel Washburn, jr., J. Wentworth, T. Wentworth, and Wheeler—62.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Under existing circumstances, every philanthropist must desire the formation of a new political party, consisting of all who are in favor of the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence. It should be no way connected with the Liberty, the Anti-Slavery, or Free Soil party. It should be neither Whig nor Democratic, but an Eclectic party, composed of all the lovers of Freedom belonging to the different political organizations of the day. Eclectic means chosen, culled, taken from. It should be eclectic also in reference to the political maxims and principles by which it is to be governed.

Untrammeled, pledged to nothing but the great central idea of civil liberty, it should be left to the combined wisdom of the patriotic lovers of Freedom at some future period (by culling the good and eschewing the evil of all political creeds) to decide questions of expediency, of political economy, and civil jurisprudence. What are Whig, what are Democratic measures, in comparison with the great question which is now to be decided? Strenuous efforts are needed to keep the ship of State from foundering. Such a party must necessarily be democratic in the true etymological sense of the word. The name by which it may be designated is of little consequence. It might be called the People's Party, and the less it smacks of any existing political party, the better. He who acts on the principle, "I will support the Government, right or wrong," is not a Democrat, nor a Whig, but a *Tory*, dyed in the wool. They who feed on the public pap will be tories as a matter of course, but there are not many tories at the North.

It has been our boast that we live in the land of the free, and God grant it may be the boast of our children when we are dead. Union is strength; and on a subject like this, Union is victory. The only thing which is problematical is whether such a Union can be consummated; but for earth's sake it should be done, or we shall become a reproach, a hissing, and a by-word among the nations.

It is imperiously binding upon us at every sacrifice to bequeath to posterity the blood-bought privileges and blessings inherited from our fathers; and, even if there were dangers to be encountered, who would not suffer and bleed, or be offered as a burnt sacrifice, to avert the evils threatening to fall upon the nation.

"*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*"

ICHABOD.

JONES CO., IOWA, *June* 16, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era:

We are now moving for an independent county organization in favor of the Maine Law and the re-enactment of the Missouri Compromise. The sentiments of the people in this vicinity are right on the subject of the extension of Slavery. We got up a remonstrance against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which was submitted for signature at the polls on the day of our spring election, and received the signature of almost every voter who had the opportunity. Whigs and Democrats in this vicinity will now unite in the most unequivocal condemnation of the further extension of Slavery, and for the re-enactment of the Anti-Slavery proviso in the organic law of all Territories.

We hope to be able to send a man to our Legislature this winter, who will be right, and determined to war against the election of a United States Senator who is not heartily opposed to any further encroachments of the Slave Power. Respectfully, &c.,

JOHN RUSSELL.

PRINCETON, ILL., *May* 27, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era:

We have just heard of the passage of the Nebraska bill by the House of Representatives. Notwithstanding your constant warnings of the danger, it has taken us all by surprise, and men of all parties are loud in their denunciations.

It seems to me that it is neither good policy nor patriotic for the Whigs to attempt to monopolize the spirit of opposition aroused by this outrage, and to attempt to turn it solely to party account. Their endorsement of one of the Baltimore platforms is too fresh in the memory of all, to permit them successfully to change front so quick.

Away with all parties, and lay down such a platform of principles as is demanded by the interests at stake and the evils to be opposed, untrammelled by antecedents and past differences. L. D. W.

MARLBORO', MASS., *June* 4, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The passage of the Nebraska fraud, and the following up with the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law the last week, have, you may well believe, opened a new chapter in the history of politics, not soon to be forgotten. Men of all parties come out boldly, and say, Throw up all party organization, and form one great Northern party, whose motto shall be, *Freedom for all*, and never cease our exertions till that be obtained, no matter what shall be the consequences. Let them take care of themselves. Down with the Slave Power, before it is too late. This must be done, and done quickly, or all will be lost. ELBRIDGE HOWE.

RAISIN, 2*d mo.* 22, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era:

If agreeable to thy feelings, wilt thou insert in the *Era* the following answer to Douglas's question in his speech in the *Era* of 2d month 9th, bearing date, "in the Senate, January 30, 1854?"

In that speech I observed these words, "Does it require any higher degree of civilization, and intelligence, and learning, and sagacity, to legislate for negroes than for white men?" If I may be permitted to reply, I would say, civilization, and intelligence, and learning, and sagacity, may and do legislate for white men; but it requires the religion of Jesus Christ, with the pure spirit of his Gospel, of "doing unto others as ye would they should do unto you," to legislate for the enslaved negroes of our land.

When inquisition is made for blood, *what* shall we answer, who have so long been our brothers' guilty keepers? May every free man in our country, who feels his responsibilities, rise in his might, and raise his voice against the sin of slavery, and its further extension, lest he too be counted with the guilty.

ELIZA R. WELLS.

HALIFAX, JUNE 28.—The Legislative troubles continuing, to the great injury of public business, the Colonial Assembly of Newfoundland has been dissolved by the Governor.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

In the Senate, Thursday,

The ten million appropriation was agreed to, Messrs. Chase, Fessenden, Gilletts, Seward, Sumner, and Wade, voting in the negative.

The bill to establish a line of mail steamers between San Francisco, the Sandwich Islands, Japan, and Shanghai, was then further considered and discussed, and was finally ordered to be engrossed, and read a third time, by a vote of 20 to 19.

In the House, Thursday,

The bill to regulate the rates of postage, (fixing three and five cents, prepaid, on inland letters, and five and ten cents, on the ocean—three thousand miles being the extent of the lower rate,) was passed by a vote of 104 yeas to 55 nays.

The House resolution to adjourn on the 14th of August, as returned from the Senate, with an amendment designating the 17th of July, was then taken up, and, after some discussion, the Senate's amendment was rejected—yeas 71, nays 105.

Senate, Friday, June 30, 1854.

The vote by which was passed a bill for the relief of David Myerle was reconsidered, and the bill was then debated at length.

The appropriation was reduced from $30,000 to $15,000, and the bill was then passed.

The bill for the relief of the legal representatives of the late Colonel John Anderson, of Michigan, was taken up and passed.

House of Representatives, June 30, 1854.

Mr. May by consent, presented a bill to reorganize the Judiciary of the District of Columbia, and to reform its laws; which was twice read, and referred to the Committee of the District of Columbia.

[This bill provides for the establishment of a Court of Common Pleas, a Court of Equity, a Criminal Court, and a local Court of Appeals. It provides, generally, for a simplification of the practice of the courts, and has in view the speedy rendition of justice, as well as a reduction of the expenses now attendant upon the practice in the several courts. It modifies and makes clear the existing laws, and adds others which are deemed necessary and demanded by the public interests.]

On motion of Mr. Orr, the House proceeded to the consideration of business on the Speaker's table, and took up the message from the Senate, in which that body announces its adherence to the time fixed by it for adjournment.

On motion of Mr. Orr, the House resolved to adhere to the time named in its resolutions, and ordered the appointment of a committee of conference, to meet a similar committee appointed by the Senate.

At two o'clock the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, with special reference to the Civil and Diplomatic bill, and Mr. Smith, of Virginia, arose and addressed the Committee, in opposition to the proposition to require Georgetown and Washington to contribute one-fifth of the expense of bringing water into and through those cities.

He urged that the Government should have no participation in the cost of diffusing the water through the cities, excepting to its own buildings and grounds.

Senate, Saturday, July 1, 1854.

Mr. Sumner presented a memorial from 681 men of Massachusetts, principally of Boston, praying the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act.

He gave notice that on Monday he would ask leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of the said Fugitive Slave Act.

Mr. Clayton moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill reported by him some weeks since, upon the subject of restricting the transfer of American-built vessels in foreign ports, to be engaged in the African slave trade.

The bill was taken up.

Mr. Clayton briefly explained the bill, which on his motion was amended in several small particulars.

Mr. Pettit moved an amendment, appropriating $250,000 annually, to enable the American Colonization Society to establish a line of armed steamers on that coast.

This amendment being considered too important to be briefly disposed of, the bill was postponed.

Mr. Gwin, from the Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the subject of an adjournment, reported a resolution providing for an adjournment of Congress *sine die* on the 4th of August next.

Mr. Houston then addressed the Senate, in personal explanations of matters in controversy between himself and Commodore E. W. Moore, of the Texas navy; and, in so doing, gave a historical account of the trials and vicissitudes of that Republic.

House of Representatives, July 1, 1854.

Mr. Orr, from the Committee of Conference on the Adjournment, made a report, in which Friday, the 4th day of August, was designated as the day. Mr. Orr called for the previous question on agreeing to this report.

The question on seconding the demand for the previous question resulted—yeas 75, nays 66.

The vote on the question, "Shall the main question be now put?" was taken by yeas and nays, and resulted—yeas 102, nays 63.

The main question was then decided in the affirmative—yeas 114, nays 54

On motion of Mr. McMullen, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the private calendar, Mr. Walley in the Chair.

Mr. Chandler commenced an argument in support of the claim of the heirs of the late Richard W. Meade.

NEWS FROM EUROPE.

The royal mail steamer Europa, with dates to the 17th of June, arrived at her wharf at 6 o'clock, last evening, 30th. She brings seventy-six passengers.

A despatch received from Vienna, dated June 10th, states that the Russians had made another unsuccessful attack on Silistria on the 10th, when General Paskievitsch, the Russian commander, received a severe and painful contusion on the right leg. He had been compelled to delegate his command to Gortschakoff, and had been removed to Jassy.

A Turkish attack on the Island of Mokan, which is held by the Russians, was also repulsed.

The Emperor Nicholas was shortly expected at Kiew.

It was stated that the Porte had signified his acceptance of the convention proposed by Austria with reference to the eventual occupation of the Principalities.

A telegraphic despatch, dated Gothland, June 11, says that both the French and English fleets were at Borlsund, twenty miles from Sweaborg, and that they would attack the latter place on or soon after the 13th. There were sixteen Russian ships of war in Sweaborg, and they had blockaded the harbor by sinking a ship loaded with rocks.

The Baltic fleet was at Boresund, twenty miles from Helsingfors.

Three British steamers had destroyed the ships, dock-yards, and stores, at Brakerstadt, on the north of the gulf of Bosnia, estimated at 350,000 roubles, and captured several vessels off Weaborg; and on the 1st of June, four steamers destroyed the ships, dock-yards, stores, &c., at Weaborg. The damage here was estimated at 400,000 roubles.

The news of the adhesion of Greece to the ultimatum of the Western Powers causes great surprise.

At Athens there is complete concord among the ministers. The three dismissed Generals have made their submission.

Lord John Russell has been unanimously re-elected to his seat in Parliament by the city of London.

The bill giving Canada an elective Senate has passed to a second reading in the House of Lords.

The weather in England was very dry, causing some anticipations for the crops.

The *Pays* says that the question between France and the United States, arising out of the arrest of Mr. Dillon, is settled, nothing remaining for arrangement but the form of compensation to be given.

There is very wet weather in France, and it excites fears for the crops.

American securities are firm, with a large business doing.

For flour there was a good inquiry, and Baltimore and Philadelphia realized an advance of 6*d.* a 9*d.* on last quotations.

WHEELING, JULY 3.—Four feet of water in the channel—three feet at Pittsburg.

CONCORD, JUNE 29.—Balloting has been again resumed to-day, for United States Senator. The first ballot has resulted in no choice; John S. Wells lacked six of an election.

The vote stood: J. S. Wells, 150; Joel Eastman, 79; Tappan, 16; Thompson, 52; Scattering, 6.

[Morrison should probably be substituted for Thompson.]

CONCORD, JUNE 30.—The House has postponed all further balloting for U. S. Senator until Thursday next, by a vote of 154 to 145. The discussion upon the Nebraska resolutions will be resumed on Wednesday next.

CONCORD, JULY 1.—The House, to-day, proceeded to ballot for a State Printer, which resulted in the choice of Mr. Bradley, of the *Reporter*. Mr. Bradley had a majority of twelve votes over his competitor, Mr. Butterfield, of the *Patriot*.

HARTFORD, JUNE 29.—The House has passed a resolution censuring Senator Toucey; also, a bill nullifying the Fugitive Slave Law. The bill respecting amusements has been repealed.

NEW ORLEANS, JUNE 26.—The steamship Orizaba, which arrived here to-day, left Vera Cruz on the 22d inst. She brings dates from the city of Mexico to the 19th inst., inclusive.

The sudden death of Madame Sontag, the celebrated artist, produced a profound sensation of grief at the Mexican capital. Her death was wholly unexpected.

BUFFALO, JUNE 28.—A serious accident occurred on the Great Western Railroad, in consequence of the whole train of cars being thrown off the track. The locomotive was completely destroyed; one man was killed, and several persons injured.

PITTSBURGH, JUNE 30.—Dispatches have been received here from various points throughout the West, which represent the cholera to be on the increase. Much alarm prevailed.

The river here is in fair condition.

BALTIMORE, JULY 3.—Flour—Howard Street $8, City Mills $8. Wheat—red $1.75, white $1 82. Corn—white 80 cents.

At Philadelphia and New York the flour and grain markets are quiet, with small sales.

The great tubular iron bridge over the St. Lawrence, at Montreal, has been commenced. Fifteen hundred workmen are to be employed on it this summer.

PEOPLE'S MASS STATE CONVENTION!
At Madison, Wisconsin, Thursday, July 13.

All men opposed to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Extension of Slavery, and the Rule of the Slave Power, are invited to meet at Madison, Thursday, July 13, to take such measures as may be deemed necessary to prevent the future encroachments of the Slave Power, to repeal all Compromises in favor of Slavery, and to establish the principle of Freedom as the rule of the State and National Governments. The time has come for the union of all Free Men for the sake of Freedom. There is but one alternative. We must *unite* and be *free*, or *divide* and be *enslaved*, by the prætorian bands of the Slaveholders and their Nebraska allies.

MANY CITIZENS.

☞ Papers throughout the State, friendly to the object of the above call, please copy. June 29.

☞ We are again publishing advertisements of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. This medicine is taking a very strong hold upon the good opinion of the people. It is regarded generally as a most excellent remedy for Pulmonary Complaints, Coughs, and Colds.

Having found it an excellent medicine, we cheerfully endorse it.—*Miscellany, Detroit.*

A GREAT BLESSING TO THE AFFLICTED.

☞ The number and formidable character of diseases of the Liver have long challenged the attention of medical men. Some of those diseases, classed under the general term of Consumption, have been supposed incurable, and the unhappy patient allowed to die, without medical science to offer him a hope of recovery. Happily this can no longer be the case. A remedy has been found which will cure complaints, of whatever character, arising from derangement of the Liver. The Pills discovered by Dr. McLane, of Virginia, act directly on the Liver; and by correcting its operation, and purifying it from disease, cuts off and extirpates the complaints which have their origin in the diseases of this organ. Remedies hitherto proposed for liver complaints have failed to operate upon the seat of the disease; but Dr. McLane's Pills make themselves felt upon the action of the Liver, and, by cleansing the fountain, dry up the impure streams of disease, which thence derive their existence.

☞ Purchasers will be careful to ask for DR. MCLANE'S CELEBRATED LIVER PILLS, and take none else. There are other Pills, purporting to be Liver Pills, now before the public.

Dr. McLane's Liver Pills, also his celebrated Vermifuge, can now be had at all respectable Drug Stores in the United States and Canada. 50

NEW VOLUME OF GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK.
Commencement of the Second Quarter of a Century!
Something Very Fine!

THE July Number of Godey's Lady's Book is published, and contains, as usual, a greater assortment of articles for Ladies, not only for show, but use, than can be found in any other periodical in the world.

The unrivalled Colored Fashions, to be found in no other publication—Front for a Lady's Cabinet—Children's Dresses.—The Medora and Zulima Mantles.—Embroidery, with Cord.—Insertion for Shirt Fronts—Embroidery for Shirts.—Braid Patterns.—Godey's Course of Lessons in Drawing.—The Wild Flowers of the Month.—The Papyrus.—The Poignor. Basques, Chemisettes, and Under Sleeves.—Bonnet Preserver.—Initial Letters.—Chestnut Basket, for the Centre Table.—Coral-broidered Handkerchief.—Braid Pattern.—Head Dresses, &c.

A Splendid Line Engraving, *Noah and the Dove.*—Gallantry—Music—A Day at a Ship Yard, with Engravings.—Farm House, with Engravings.—Life of Columbus.—Godey's Invaluable and Seasonable Recipes.—Confectionary.—Ice Creams and Puddings.

☞ This No. will be sent on receipt of 25 cents.

TERMS.

One copy, one year	$3
Two do. do.	5
Five copies, one year, and an extra copy to the person sending the club	10
Eight copies, one year, do. do.	do. 15
Eleven copies, one year, do. do.	do. 20

☞ Godey's Lady's Book and Arthur's Home Magazine will both be sent one year for $3.50.

L. A. GODEY,
June 19—3t No. 113 Chestnut st., Phil.

PLAN OF ENDOWMENT OF GENEVA HALL.

THE Board of Trustees, at their meeting held May 8, 1854, adopted the following plan of Endowment:

1. The payment of $20 shall endow a single scholarship, which will entitle the subscriber to the tuition of one student during four years.

2. The payment of $25 shall endow a single scholarship, which will entitle the subscriber to the tuition of one student during the entire course, or six years, including the preparatory studies

3. The payment of $50 shall endow a family scholarship, which shall entitle the subscriber to the tuition of his own sons, or those of any family he may designate, or to the tuition amounting to twelve years of any students he may select.

4. The payment of $100 shall endow a scholarship for forty years, or shall entitle the subscriber to the tuition, amounting in all to forty years, of such persons as he may select.

Subscriptions, on the above conditions, shall not be binding on subscribers, nor shall the College be required to fulfil its part of the contract, until a sum from $30,000 to $60,000 shall have been subscribed; at which time the books shall be closed, the subscriptions become due and bear interest, and the subscribers shall then be entitled to the privileges of scholarships, as above stated.

The Trustees will then issue certificates, signed by the President and Secretary of the Board, guarantying to the subscribers the privileges above enumerated, according to their respective subscriptions, which subscriptions shall be *transferable*, as other property: Provided, always, That notice be given of their transfer; and these certificates shall be delivered to the subscribers upon the payment of their subscriptions. The subscribers will not be required to pay their subscriptions until three months' notice shall have been given in the public papers.

By order of the Board of Trustees of Geneva Hall, done this 8th day of May, 1854.

J. R. W. SLOANE,
President of Board of Trustees.
J. B. JOHNSTON,
June 29. *Secretary of the Board.*

PHILOSOPHICAL AND CHEMICAL APPARATUS.

THE subscriber manufactures almost all kinds of apparatus, and will always be happy to correspond with such as may need anything in that line. Having been for years a practical teacher of these sciences, he has unusual advantages in knowing the actual wants of teachers. Price catalogues sent, gratis, on application. Goods shipped to all parts of the United States and Canadas.

He refers, by permission, to Professor J. Foster, of Union College, N. Y.; Rt. Rev. A. Potter, Bishop of Penn. C. B. WARRING, A. M.,
June 29—26t Poughkeepsie, New York.

S. P. CHASE. F. BALL.

CHASE & BALL, Attorneys and Counsellors at Law, Cincinnati, Ohio, practice in the State Courts of Ohio, in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States in Ohio, and in the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington. Jan. 5

CROCKER, McKUNE, & ROBINSON,

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW. Office Nos. 24 and 25 in Read & Co.'s Post Office building, Sacramento. April 1.

BOOK AGENTS WANTED,

TO circulate in every county in the Union some most *rapid selling*, popular, and beautifully illustrated subscription books. A small cash capital required. Apply to HENRY HOWE, 111 Main street, Cincinnati, Ohio. Feb. 16.

Eastman's Infallible Sick Headache Remedy.

THIS preparation, by E. P. EASTMAN, M. D., of Lynn, Mass., has been used in private practice for the last four years, with the greatest success. A radical cure has been effected in every instance where the directions have been strictly followed and persevered in. It is now given to the public with the full confidence that it will do all that is claimed for it, and prove itself, upon fair trial, an *infallible Sick Headache Remedy.*

It is safe and pleasant to the taste, it brings immediate relief, and all who test its curative virtues rejoice in the removal of pain, and marvel at its power in alleviating so general, and often so fatal, a scourge

The following is from D. C. Baker, Esq., Mayor of Lynn, and President of the Howard Banking Company, Boston:

Dr. E. P. Eastman.

DEAR SIR: A member of my family—a daughter, ten years of age—was afflicted with the sick headache, and we tried various remedies without success. When, however, you administered to her your "Headache Powders," we found them to be very beneficial, and, in fact, restored her to health.

I should, without hesitation, recommend them to those afflicted; and I beg to assure you, that I fully appreciate their value.

Respectfully yours, D. C. BAKER.
LYNN, *August* 6, 1853.

Dr. E. P. Eastman.

MY DEAR SIR: I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you my high appreciation of the efficiency and value of your Sick Headache Remedy. I have been afflicted, since my childhood, with very severe turns of sick headache, and have tried various remedies which have been prescribed, but found no considerable relief until I tried your remedy, which, I am happy to say, has almost entirely cured me. Several of my neighbors and friends have tried your medicine, and in every instance it has entirely relieved or greatly mollified the disease.

Faithfully yours, JOHN B. ALLEY.

WILSON, FAIRBANK, & CO., 43 and 45 Hanover street, Boston, General Agents, to whom all orders should be addressed; also for sale by all the Druggists throughout the country.

For sale in Washington by Z. D. GILMAN.
March 3.

GRATIS!

A FEW words on the rational treatment, without medicine, of local weakness, nervous debility, loss of memory, love of solitude, self-distrust, dizziness, pimples on the face, and other infirmities of man. By this entirely new and highly successful treatment, every one is enabled to cure himself perfectly, and at the least possible cost. Sent to any address, post free, in sealed envelope, by remitting (post paid) two postage stamps, to DR. B. DE LANEY,
April 1—3m 51 Lispenard street, New York.

IMPORTANT TO THE BLIND.

DR. KNAPP, Oculist, at No. 140 Main street, Buffalo, New York, restores sight to the Blind with chemical vapors, externally applied. This new method, causing *no pain*, is at once remarkable and successful. Several forms of blindness are removed by this treatment, that heretofore have been incurable. March 27.

DROPSY, CANCER, TETTER, FISTULA,

AND Diseases of the Genital Organs, removed in an incredibly short time. Invalids afflicted with the above complaints can be successfully treated at No. 86 Broadway, between Second and Third streets, east side. Office hours from ten to twelve o'clock.

Drs. WHITTEMORE and STOCKWELL,
Dec 22. Cincinnati, Ohio.

S. S. WILLIAMS,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Washington City,

PRACTICES in the Courts of the District of Columbia, and before the Departments of the Government. Office over Banking House of Selden, Withers, & Co. June 30—tf

Dr. Nathaniel Thurston's Office,

ROOM No. 20, in Hilman's Temperance House, on Davis street, Nos. 80 and 82, San Francisco, California. May 8.

GEORGE W. JULIAN,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Centreville, Indiana,

WILL attend to the securing and collecting of claims, and all other business intrusted to his care, in the counties of Wayne, Randolph, Henry, Union, and Fayette, and in the Supreme and Federal Courts at Indianapolis. Dec. 22.

BARD & WILSON,

MANUFACTURERS OF GOLD PENS, of every description, respectfully call the attention of the public and Pen Dealers to their recently patented "ANGULAR NIB" Gold Pens. These pens are pronounced by competent judges to be superior to any other now extant.—For sale at the manufactory, northeast corner of Market and Third streets, Philadelphia Jan. 21.

YOUNG & CARSON,
Wholesale Grocers and Commission Merchants,
No. 77 Exchange Place, Baltimore,

KEEP constantly on hand a large stock of Groceries, which they offer on the most favorable terms. Baltimore, Jan. 15.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL,
FOR THE RAPID CURE OF
COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA, AND CONSUMPTION.

"*Wisdom shall bow down to it, and the great of the earth shall kneel before it.*"

NEVER could this be said with more truth, than it now applies to this remedy for affections of the throat and lungs. The exalted in learning and power acknowledge its supremacy, while both the little and the great can feel its benefits. The liberal-minded among those skilled to cure, are free to own its mastery over distempers which have baffled their art. Those of exalted stations are not ashamed to testify to its virtues, but deem it a duty and a pleasure to thus hold out the lamp of their experience to their suffering fellow men.

Witness the following:

[Translation.]
VERMILLIONVILLE, LA., *April*, 1853.

I have of late made frequent use of your Cherry Pectoral in my practice, and am happy to inform you that in no case yet has it failed me. I have made some signal cures of Laryngitis and Bronchitis with it, and have completely cured one case of Asthma, which had withstood every other medicine I could employ.

Accept, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration. JULES CLAUD COUGUET, M. D.,
Late Surgeon of the Royal Marine, France.
Mons. le Dr. J. C. Ayer.

Extract from a letter of our Minister at the Court of the Sublime Porte:

LEGATION OF THE U. S. A.,
CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY.

DEAR SIR: The Cherry Pectoral received from you for the Sultan has been delivered to his Private Secretary at the palace, and you will doubtless hear from it in due season. That you were so kind as to send me, has been given to friends, who have in many cases found it exceedingly useful.

Yours, respectfully, GEO. P. MARSH,
Minister Plenipotentiary U. S. A. to Turkey.
Dr. J. C. Ayer.

Among the eminent Editors who testify to their personal experience and knowledge of the wonderful cures and immense success of the Cherry Pectoral in their sections, we may mention—

Boughton & Co., Federal Union, Milledgeville, Ga.
L. Patton, Christian Advocate, Knoxville, Tenn.
J. B. Dobson, American Presbyterian, Greenville, Te.
J. B. Samson, Democrat, McConnellsburg, Pa.
J. Russ, jr., Shelbyville News, Tenn.
Harvey, McKenney, & Co., State Gazette, Burlington, Iowa.
J. Knabb & Co, Journal, Reading, Pa.
Raymond, Harper, & Co., New York Times.
S. Cobb, Christian Freeman, Boston.
Wm. B. Jacobs, Christian Chronicle, Philad.
Hon. J. Wentworth, M. C., Democrat, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. E. G. Reese, Methodist Protestant, Baltimore.
W. M. Wightman, Christian Advocate, Charleston, S. C.
J. M. Magennis, True Delta, New Orleans.
T. M. Donnell, Daily News, Savannah, Ga.
Geo. D. Prentice, Louisville Journal, Ky.
Hon. Schuyler Colfax, M. C., South Bend Register, Indiana.
A. Commings, Christian Mirror, Portland, Me.
M. H. Bartlett & Co, Republican, Hartford, Conn.
Chaddick & Berry, Banner of Peace, Lebanon, Ten.
Thompson & Co., United Empire and Patriot, Toronto, C. W.
Charles Cook, Democrat, Danville, Pa.
M. Hannum, Democrat, Allentown, Pa.
Sherman & Harron, State Gazette, Trenton, N. J.
Wright & Haven, Prairie Farmer, Chicago, Ill.

These gentlemen have not only certified to these statements in their papers, to the public, but have sent me their personal letters, to the effect that they have found my preparation an article of great public utility.

Space will not admit full testimonials here, but the agent below named will furnish my American Almanac, gratis, to all who ask for it, wherein are full particulars, and indisputable proof of these statements.

Prepared by J. C. AYER, Chemist, Lowell, Mass. Sold in Washington by Z. D. GILMAN, and by all Druggists and Dealers in Medicine everywhere.

May 6—tangl

NED DOW'S

ONE HUNDRED WAYS TO MAKE MONEY, consisting of new discoveries, valuable information, and 100 Receipts, by which persons have cleared from three to ten dollars a day the past year, and no one can fail to make money. It is suitable for every station in life, whether for travelling or a permanent locality, and something every mechanic, trader, and druggist, should have. Upon the receipt of one dollar, post paid, the above will be forwarded. Address M. EDWARD DOW,
March 13. Boston, Massachusetts.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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For the National Era.

THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

LETTER XVI.

SLAVERY ILLEGAL BY THE STATE CONSTITUTIONS FORMED FROM 1776 TO 1789, AND AFTERWARDS.

To the Friends of American Liberty:

I have shown that Slavery cannot be legalized in any of the States that are founded upon the Declaration of Independence, unless or until they have formally repealed and repudiated that Declaration, which none of them have yet done.

I shall now show that, in addition to all this, the State Constitutions of the several States, including the present slave States, or many of them, are incompatible with Slavery, insomuch that they would have abolished any previously established legal Slavery, if it had existed among them.

I will begin with Massachusetts, where a judicial decision has determined that the State Constitution prohibits Slavery, and then compare with the Constitution of Massachusetts, those of some of the slave States.

"In Massachusetts, it was judicially decided, soon after the Revolution, that Slavery was virtually abolished *by the Constitution*, and that the issue of a female slave, though born *prior* to the Constitution, was born free."—*Kent's Commentary, p.* 252.

In giving the opinion of the Court in the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Thomas Aves, in 1833, Chief Justice Shaw said:

"How, or by what act particularly, Slavery was abolished in Massachusetts, whether by the adoption of the opinion in Somersett's case, as a declaration or modification of the Common Law, or by the Declaration of Independence, or by the Constitution of 1780, is not now very easy to determine; and it is rather a matter of curiosity than utility, it being agreed on all hands that, *if not abolished before*, it was by the Declaration of Rights." * * * * "Without pursuing this inquiry further, it is sufficient for the purposes of the case before us, that *by the Constitution adopted in* 1780, Slavery was abolished in Massachusetts, on the ground that it is contrary to natural right and the plain principles of justice. The terms of the first article of the Declaration of Rights are plain and explicit. 'All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, which are the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, that of acquiring and possessing and protecting property.' It would be difficult to select words more precisely adapted to the abolition of Slavery."—*Pickering's Reports, pp.* 209–10.

It will be observed here, that while Judge Shaw agrees with Chancellor Kent, that the *Constitution* of Massachusetts abolished Slavery in that State, "if not abolished before," (declaring that this is "agreed on all hands,") he adds, that either one of three *other* things which he mentions, viz: 1st, the decision of Lord Mansfield in Somersett's case; 2d, the authority of common laws; or, 3d, the Declaration of Independence, would have been sufficient for the same purpose. *This sustains fully the course of argument I have already pursued.* And it will be noticed, further, that each of these three grounds of deciding the illegality of Slavery (either of which, by itself, would be amply sufficient) are as valid in *all* of the States as they are in Massachusetts All the States were equally affected by the decision of Somersett's case, equally under the authority of common law, and equally under the operation of the Declaration of Independence. If either one or all of these rendered Slavery illegal in Massachusetts, they rendered it illegal in Virginia, in the Carolinas, and in Georgia.

Let us next see whether the same observation may not be extended to the fourth ground of abolition, mentioned by Judge Shaw, and "agreed on all hands," viz: the State Constitutions. How did those of the slave States compare with that of Massachusetts?

DELAWARE.—"*All men* have, by nature, the rights of worshipping and serving their Creator according to the dictates of their consciences, of enjoying and defending life and *liberty*, of acquiring and protecting reputation and *property*." "The PEOPLE shall be secure in their PERSONS, houses, papers, and possessions, from all unreasonable searches and SEIZURES." "No attainder shall work *corruption of blood*, nor, except during the life of the *offender*, forfeiture of ESTATE" *

MARYLAND.—"All government, of right, originates from THE PEOPLE, is founded in compact only, and instituted solely for the good of THE WHOLE." "The INHABITANTS of Maryland are entitled to the COMMON LAW OF ENGLAND."

"Entitled," consequently, to protection from Slavery.

"The right, in the PEOPLE, to participate in the Legislature, is the best security of liberty and the foundation of all free government." 'EVERY MAN has a right to petition the Legislature," &c.

"That *monopolies* are odious, contrary to the spirit of a free Government, and *ought not to be suffered*."

This Constitution was framed in August, 1776, and re-enacts the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed a few weeks previous.

NORTH CAROLINA—"*Declaration of Rights.*" "That all political power is *vested in* and *derived from* the PEOPLE ONLY." "That *no man or set of men* are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or *privileges* from the community, but in consideration of public services." "That freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of *liberty*, and *therefore* ought never to be restrained." "That ALL MEN have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences." "That a frequent recurrence to *fundamental principles* is absolutely necessary to preserve THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY." "That *perpetuities and monopolies* are contrary to the genius of a FREE STATE, and OUGHT NOT TO BE ALLOWED."

Plainly implying that North Carolina is to be regarded a "*free* State." The Constitution contains no establishment or recognition of Slavery, and confers no authority on the Legislature to establish it. On the contrary, it explicitly declares (Art. 44) "That the Declaration of Rights is hereby declared to be a part of the Constitution of this State, and ought never to be violated, on any *pretence whatever*."

How, then, can there be any legal validity in those remarkably rigid statutes of North Carolina, by which not only "monopolies" and "perpetuities" are guarded, but rights of conscience violated, slaves forbidden to read the Bible, and all colored men, bond or free, forbidden to preach the Gospel?

VIRGINIA.—"*All men* are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights"—"namely, the enjoyment of life and *liberty*, with the means of acquiring and possessing *property*, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and *safety*."

So much for the Constitutions of four of the original States, still retaining Slavery. In three of them, the terms employed are quite as full and emphatic against Slavery as in the Constitution of Massachusetts. In the other, they are scarcely less so. Let us now look at the Constitution of one of the newer slave States.

TENNESSEE.—"*Declaration of Rights.*"—"That all power is inherent IN THE PEOPLE, and all FREE Governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness; for the advancement of *these ends* they have, AT ALL TIMES, an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, REFORM, or ABOLISH, the Government they live under, IN SUCH MANNER *as they may think proper*."

This right of "THE PEOPLE" of Kentucky includes, of course, the rights of the "people of color," bond and free! Rather "incendiary." But read further:

"ALL MEN have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences." "That the PEOPLE shall be secure in their PERSONS, houses, papers, and possessions, from unreasonable searches and SEIZURES." "That perpetuities and *monopolies* are contrary to the genius of a *free State*, and *ought not to be allowed*," &c., &c.

If Slavery can be *legalized* under Constitutions like these, the utility of Constitutions, as a means of restricting the despotism of legislation and securing freedom, might as well be abandoned first as last. Constitutional Governments, in such a case, become a farce.

I do not say that all the Constitutions of slave States compare with those. But I do say that Slavery cannot legally exist under such State Constitutions. Some of the States have changed their Constitutions since 1789. But I challenge the proof that, *at that period*, there was a single State whose Constitution authorized the Legislature to establish Slavery.

WILLIAM GOODELL.

* This Constitution of Delaware was adopted in 1792, *after* the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and after the judicial decision in Massachusetts, declaring Slavery inconsistent with a Constitution of precisely the same character.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

Senate, Tuesday, June 27, 1854.

A few petitions were presented.

Mr. Hamlin reported a bill making Fronteras, in Texas, a port of delivery; and the same was considered and passed.

A bill creating an additional collection district in California was considered and passed.

On motion by Mr. Pearce, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill directing a re-examination and adjustment of the accounts between the State of Maryland and the United States, respecting interest on advances made by the said State.

After some explanation, the bill was passed—yeas 36, nays 7.

On motion by Mr. Adams, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill changing the day for the annual meeting of Congress, from the first day of December to the first day of November.

Mr. Walker moved to amend the bill by striking out November, and inserting October.

The bill was opposed by Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Benjamin, Stuart, and Pratt, and supported by Messrs. Badger and Douglas.

No question was taken when this report closed.

House of Representatives, June 27, 1854.

The Speaker laid before the House a communication from the Treasury Department, giving estimates of certain extra appropriations required for light-houses in process of erection on the coast of the Pacific, amounting to $59,434; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Harris, of Mississippi, proposed a resolution, asking the President of the United States, if not incompatible with the public interest, for any information in his possession on the date of his proclamation, May 31, 1854, respecting the designs of persons in this country to invade Cuba.

Mr. Clingman objected.

Mr. Houston moved a resolution, closing debate on the Treaty Appropriation bill at noon to-morrow. He wished to get through with the business, and would on Monday next move to close the session on the 31st of July.

Mr. Haven said, that if gentlemen were not willing to call for the Executive's instructions and diplomatic correspondence, (which had been printed for the use of the Senate,) he saw no necessity for continuing the debate a moment. No one doubted the power of the House to vote the appropriation asked; and no one in the House had any adequate data upon which to discuss the question of expediency.

Mr. Houston demanded the previous question.

Mr. Campbell demanded the yeas and nays; which were ordered, and resulted, 94 to 58.

Mr. Jones, of Pennsylvania, supported the bill in an elaborate argument, chiefly in response to the argument of Mr. Benton yesterday.

Mr. Haven said Mr. Jones had fully assumed the constitutional power of the House to give or to withhold the appropriation, and based the question of expediency chiefly upon our getting rid of the 11th article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. He affirmed that we were under no obligation to indemnify Mexico for anything done by the Indians to the people of Mexico.

Gentlemen had pressed the present Treaty because of our assumed responsibility for indemnity; but he disputed its fairness.

Mr. Haven contended that the correspondence in the case ought to be before the House.

Mr. Houston said, that if Mr. Haven or others had desired the correspondence, they could have got it.

Mr. Haven was glad to know that Mr. Houston was disposed to put himself right on this subject; but no such opportunity had been afforded. He admonished gentlemen that it would be well for them to hush up mischievous rumors, by making a full exhibit of the case as it really was. Indemnities for Sloo and Garay were rumored to have been bargained for in the negotiation.

Mr. Bocock asked how the documents in the case could reveal informal instructions given?

Mr. Haven said the rumors were to the effect that the ostensible negotiation on our side had required outside advices to be put on record.

[Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, frequently interrupted Mr. Haven, and an interesting colloquy passed between them.]

Mr. Haven concluded by making a powerful appeal to the friends of the Administration to make public all the documents in the case, before extorting a vote from the House.

Mr. Phillips followed, and spoke at length in support of the bill and its immediate passage.

Senate, Wednesday, June 28, 1854.

A few petitions were presented.

Mr. Pettit spoke for over half an hour, in personal explanation. He said that on Monday he had made some remarks on the extraordinary avowal made by the Senator from Massachusetts, that he recognised no obligation to obey the Constitution which he had sworn to support. In the report of those remarks, as published in the *Globe* of Tuesday morning, there appeared in his remarks a statement that Mr. Sumner had said:

"I said, I recognise no obligation in the Constitution to bind me to help to reduce a man to slavery."

These remarks, which the report as published in the *Globe* attributed to Mr. Sumner, he (Mr. P.) declared were never made in the Senate, and, if they had been made, were false, and would have been so branded at the time.

Mr. Sumner. I call the Senator to order. The remarks in the report, attributed to me, were uttered by me, as reported.

Mr. Pettit. I will prove, in the very teeth of his statement, that it is false.

[Cries of "Order, order."]

Mr. Pettit then proceeded to show that the remarks could not have been made, because Mr. Sumner had not the floor to make them; that if uttered in his seat, they ought not to have been reported, for he had not heard them, and could not have replied to them. He contended that Mr. S., after the adjournment of the Senate, visited the reporter for the *Globe*, and interpolated these remarks, which he had never uttered. He had seen the remarks in the proof sheets of his own speech, and had stricken them out, because they appeared there in falsification of the record. Yet the publisher of the *Globe* had insisted upon putting them in. He read a letter from Mr. Sutton, of the *Globe*, to the effect that the remarks complained of were not originally reported as published; but Mr. Sumner had revised them, and put them in their present shape. He further considered the remarks of Mr. Sumner, and condemned them in strong and denunciatory language.

Mr. Sumner said that he would repeat, that the remarks as published were uttered substantially as reported. He had made the remarks in his seat, and did not expect it would have reached the reporter's ear. Upon revising his own remarks, he was informed that there were some sentences of his which appeared in the report of the speech of the Senator from Indiana. They were shown to him. He told the reporter that they had not been heard exactly as they were spoken; he repeated them to the reporter as he had actually uttered them, and the reporter wrote them down. He knew nothing further of the matter. As to all else said by the Senator from Indiana, he had nothing whatever to say. The matter then dropped.

On motion by Mr. Stuart, the Senate took up the bill granting land to the Territory of Minnesota to aid in the construction of a railroad in that Territory.

And the same was read a third time, and passed.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the motion to refer to the Committee on the Judiciary the memorial from Boston, praying the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Mr. Dixon addressed the Senate at length, against the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, in defence of that law, and in declaring his total disconnection with the Whig party of the North, which was becoming abolitionized.

Mr. Mallory and Mr. Clay followed, denouncing, in strong terms, the language imputed to Mr. Sumner, of denying any obligation upon him to execute the Constitution in returning a fugitive to slavery.

Mr. Sumner commenced at a little after two, in a most fervent and eloquent manner, a powerful reply to the abuse thrown upon him, and in defence of his position in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. He placed himself on the broad ground taken by General Jackson, that each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, swears to support it as he understands it, and not as others understand it.

No Senator dissented from this doctrine. He could not be expected to understand the Constitution as the Senator from South Carolina, who understood it as including a whole host of bloodhounds, pawing to get loose their hinder parts.

He is still speaking.

House of Representatives, June 28, 1854.

The Speaker laid before the House a communication from the War Department, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the House of 20th June, a copy of Fuller's Report of the Survey of the Ohio River. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

The Speaker announced the business before the House to be the bill to provide a weekly mail service between the Atlantic ports and San Francisco.

Mr. Skelton, by consent, introduced a bill for the better protection of life and property on the coast of the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

Messrs. Cobb, Haven, McDougal, McMullen, Olds, Chamberlain, and Mace, debated the motion to reconsider the vote ordering the California mail bill to be read a third time. [This motion was made for the purpose of amending the bill, and the debate took in its scope, to some extent, the amendments proposed, which, however, were not important.]

The vote was reconsidered, and the amendments adopted.

Upon the question, "Shall the bill be read a third time?"

The yeas and nays being called for,

Mr. Bridges moved to lay the bill on the table; upon which motion the yeas and nays were ordered, and the result was—yeas 84, nays 70.

Mr. McDougal moved to reconsider the vote.

Mr. Letcher moved to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. McDougal moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Letcher's motion was decided in the affirmative—yeas 79, nays 48. So the bill may be regarded as defeated.

[This bill would authorize the Postmaster General to contract with the lowest and best bidder, after the usual advertisement, for the transportation of the mails to and from New-York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, and from New Orleans to San Francisco, by the most expeditious practicable route; the service to be performed semi-monthly, and at such times, as, in connexion with other mail service, as at present, will secure as near as practicable, a weekly mail, each way, between the points designated; the entire cost of such service not to exceed two hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum.]

On motion of Mr. Phelps, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Olds in the chair.)

The consideration of the ten million appropriation bill was then resumed.

Mr. Jones withdrew his motion to strike out the enacting clause.

Mr. Houston addressed the House, first causing to be read by the Clerk, a resolution adopted by Congress in 1796, as expressive of his views on the duty of the House.

He responded to the remarks of Messrs. Benton, Haven and Peckham, relative to the absence of documents, and alleged that they had not made a call for such information when they could have done so.

Mr. Haven replied, that when the bill was brought up, Mr. Houston, by his own motion, made a call for correspondence impossible.

Mr. Houston proceeded at length, refusing to yield the floor to the opponents of the pending measure.

The House bill to change the annual meeting of Congress to the first Monday in November was rejected in the Senate—yeas 15, nays 33.

In the House, yesterday, Mr. Richardson denounced in severe terms the author and publishers of a despatch from this city, accusing him of fraudulently retaining the "Clayton amendment" in the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The debate on the Ten Million Appropriation continued until eight o'clock in the evening, when the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Senate, Thursday, June 29, 1854.

Mr. Fessenden presented a petition from New Hampshire, praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act. He said this memorial was not open to the objections, on the score of locality, which had been urged against the Boston memorial. This was signed by all the legal voters of the town of Milford, New Hampshire, the birthplace of the President. Referred.

Mr. Sumner presented the memorial of the men of the town of Pepperel, Massachusetts, praying the repeal of the same unrighteous, inhuman, and barbarous, act. This memorial came from the home of Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill. The gentleman who sent it to him signed himself a Hunker Democrat of the olden time. Referred.

On motion of Mr. Gwin, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill to establish a line of steamers between San Francisco and Shanghai, via the Sandwich Islands and Japan.

Mr. Seward addressed the Senate in support of the bill; after which, it was postponed.

The bill appropriating $10,000,000, to carry out the treaty with Mexico, was received from the House.

Mr. Hunter moved to proceed to the consideration of the said bill.

Mr. Shields demanded an Executive session on that motion; which was conceded, and the doors were closed.

House of Representatives, June 29, 1854.

Mr. Faulkner, after a brief explanation concerning the condition of the business before the Military Affairs Committee, asked leave to move to make the bills for the improvement of the condition of the army the special order for the 8th of July, proximo.

But objection being made, leave was not granted.

Mr. Mace asked leave to make a personal explanation, which, he remarked, was due to himself and Mr. Richardson, of Illinois; and leave being granted, Mr. M. proceeded to explain that he was in no way responsible for a dispatch to the New York *Times*, accusing Mr. Richardson of perpetrating fraude in incorporating provisions in the Nebraska bill, &c.

The bill to change the postage rates was then taken up.

Mr. Olds, withdrawing the pending motion to refer it, offered an amendment designed to prevent speculation in post office stamps and franked envelopes, addressed the House in favor of the bill.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, addressed the House against the clause in the bill forbidding the payment of postage in the current coin of the country.

The bill was further debated by Mr. Jones of Louisiana, Sage, and Washburne of Illinois.

Mr. Ready moved to lay the bill on the table.

But the question being on agreeing to the amendment of Mr. Olds, it was agreed to; and then, as amended, the said bill was ordered to its third reading before our report went to press.

Yesterday, after Mr. Sumner had closed his triumphant vindication, Mr. Butler replied; after which, the memorial was referred.

In the House, yesterday, after the close of Mr. Houston's speech, and a short discussion under the five minutes rule, the bill appropriating $10,000,000 for the Gadsden Treaty was passed—yeas 103, nays 62—and the House adjourned.

MARRIAGE.

At Washington, Pa., on Wednesday morning, the 21st inst., by the Rev. James Brownson, NICHOLAS K. WADE, of Pittsburgh, to ROMAINE LE MOYNE, daughter of Dr. F. S. Le Moyne, of Washington, Pa.

INQUIRIES CONCERNING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

Letters have reached us from various States, inquiring concerning the action of members on the Nebraska Bill. We must be excused from answering these letters privately. What we have to say, we prefer to say openly.

One of those letters concerned Mr. Trout. We find the following card from this gentleman, in the Pittsburg *Gazette*:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, May 22, 1854.

SIR: In your paper of the 17th inst. I find the following, viz: "The Representatives from the Free States named below voted, on Monday week, to take up the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, with a view to urge its immediate passage," and among the number I find my name recorded.

Believing that you would not willingly misrepresent me, and that you have consigned me to "*infamy*" more through inadvertence than a knowledge of the facts, I have thought proper to put you right on that subject.

It is true that I voted to go into Committee of the Whole on the day referred to, but *it is not true* that I "voted to take up the bill." On the contrary, I voted to lay Mr. Richardson's motion "to take up" on the table, I voted uniformly *against* "laying aside" the several bills on the calendar to reach the Nebraska bill; and when the Nebraska bill was reached, *I voted to lay it aside*, and *against* "taking it up," and I voted to restore the calendar to its original order. In short, during the thirty-six-hour session I voted and acted with the opponents of the bill on all important issues.

The mere vote of going into Committee of the Whole cannot, by any fair rule of construction, be said to favor the passage of the bill, for the House goes into Committee of the Whole almost every day, and it would have been in order at any time, when so in Committee, for the friends of the bill to move to take it up and consider it.

I have always been and still am opposed to the bill, and neither the promises of friends or the menaces of enemies can ever induce me to vote for it in its present shape, and none know this fact better than your own Representatives.

These things being so, it is difficult to imagine why you labor so hard to put me in the wrong.

All I claim is to be fairly quoted and placed right on the record, and my constituents can then judge for themselves. This I have a right to; I ask nothing more, and since you have given your version of the case, I hope you will give mine also.

M. C. TROUT.

To the Editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette.

Well—the Nebraska Bill is passed. Mr. Trout, according to his own showing, opposed it, and we have no reason to question his record, as quoted by himself.

The question now, is not, what he *did*, but what he *intends to do*? Is he one of the Anti-Nebraska members who, the *Star* asserts, disapprove of the true, calm, cogent address by the real opponents of the bill? Will he vote two hundred and fifty millions of dollars for the purchase of Cuba, with its half million slaves? Is he, like some others who voted against the Nebraska Bill, determined now to become acquiescent? Does he, like the Anti-Nebraska editor of the Maine *Age*, stand by the legislation of 1850, and the Baltimore platform, which announced it as a finality? Will he work and vote against any Slave Territory, and any more slave States?

Let Mr. Trout's constituents, let the constituents of every other member who voted against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, not only understand how he voted on that question—a question now passed—but how he will vote on other questions involving still more deeply the rights and interests of the free States.

LETTER OF GERRIT SMITH.

WASHINGTON, *June* 27, 1854.

To my Constituents:

My nomination to Congress alarmed me greatly, because I believed, that it would result in my election. To separate myself from my large private business, for so long a time; and to war for so long a time, against the strong habits formed in my deeply secluded life; seemed to be well-nigh impossible.

My election having taken place, I concluded, that I must serve you, during the first session of my term. Not to speak of other reasons for such service, there was, at least, so much due to you, in requital for your generous forgetfulness of party obligations, in electing me. I could not do less, and, yet, make a decent return for the respect and partiality you had shown me.

I did not, until within a few weeks, *fully* decide not to return to Congress, at the next session. I could not know, but that something unforeseen might demand such return. I, now, feel at liberty to announce my purpose to resign my seat in Congress, at the close of the present session. Why I make the annunciation so early is, that you may have ample time to look around you for my successor.

I resign my seat the more freely, because I do not thereby impose any tax upon your time. You will fill the vacancy, at the General Election. Indeed, I should have been entirely unwilling to put you to the pains of holding a special election.

GERRIT SMITH.

FROM A PIONEER.

MINNESOTA, *June* 10, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Having come to Minnesota for the purpose of making a claim and a home, and being poor, as a majority are who go to a new country, and having had several years' experience in Western life, allow me to tell our servants in Congress our wants:

1st. We want three or five years' pre-emption, to pay for our lands. With one year's pre-emption we are obliged to pay for our lands before we can produce anything to spare, as it is well known that for the first year and a half we must be on expense. I think most of the settlers would be satisfied with a bill to that effect, instead of one granting lands free of cost. Certainly the land business should pay its own expenses.

Under the present system, we are obliged to go to speculators, and get them to enter our lands for us, and allow them from 25 to 90 per cent. on their money. This enormous interest accumulates so rapidly, that one half the settlers are obliged to sell their lands to pay for them. Government should give us this time, which we have to purchase so dearly of speculators; and it would lose nothing in the end by the operation. Let us have Mason's Land Bill, granting five years' time or pre-emption, or something like it, before the close of the present Congress.

2d. We want one hundred post offices established immediately.

The mail route from Dubuque to St. Paul, via Elcador, Decorah, Chatfield, and Oronoco, should be established now, so that the close of navigation will not close the mails. The country is fast settling on this route, and already large settlements are thirty miles from this post office.

3d. We want the public land sales abolished. Government gains little or nothing by putting the lands up at auction, while it is a great inconvenience and nuisance to actual settlers. We are obliged to attend for days and weeks at the place of sale, and if by chance we have found a choice spot, we are liable to lose it by the overbidding of some speculator who has a larger purse than we.

Please tell our servants in Congress these things, and see if they cannot do something for us.

Yours, P. F. THURBER.

From the Salem (Ohio) Homestead Journal.

KANSAS AND SLAVERY.

Since the Plan for Freedom, a part of which we published a few weeks ago, has been set in motion in Massachusetts and New York, the South have endeavored to organize a similar company, and, as they choose to term it, "beat the Abolitionists, at their own game." Their prime object is, to first settle Kansas with slaveholders, and, when that Territory is well secured, and Slavery firmly rooted in its soil, they will then, if need be, turn their attention to Nebraska. The slaveholders are on the alert, and, although they have, by the basest and most dishonorable treachery, secured the *privilege* of taking their human chattels to these Territories, they will not consider their victory complete until involuntary servitude becomes a "fixed fact" in the Constitution of Nebraska and Kansas, but more especially the latter. And when this purpose is once achieved, then, doubtless, other aggressions on free soil will be contemplated by the Slave Power. The Ordinance of 1787, by which Ohio and the Northwest were *forever* declared free from the loathing curse, will be the next to receive the attacks of the enemy. FOREVER, with the South, means only as long as *they* please.

Several meetings, for the purpose of organizing companies of slaveholders to settle Kansas, have already been held in Missouri.

LITERARY NOTICES.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION. By R. W. Gibbes, M. D., Columbia, S. C.

A volume of three hundred pages, containing letters and papers relating to the contest for liberty during the last three years of the Revolutionary War, chiefly in South Carolina. The correspondence is mainly carried on by Greene, Marion, Sumter, and Rutledge, but a good many interesting letters that passed between the American and British officers are presented.

In this, as in all works of the class, there is a great deal of chaff, but there is enough wheat to pay for the trouble of sifting it out. It is a real pleasure, too, to go to the sources of History and see how much of our compiled information is correct. Writers of different parties on the war against Mexico would prepare narratives very differently colored, and suggesting quite opposite opinions, although they would draw their materials from the same sources. He who would not take opinions on trust, or at second-hand, will always be glad to avail himself of a faithful and full documentary history.

That before us is, of course, merely fragmentary; but it contains some of the finest specimens of letter-writing, from Gen. Greene, that we have ever seen from any pen.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF EXPLORATIONS AND INCIDENTS. By John Russell Bartlett. In 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Bartlett was appointed by Gen. Taylor, in June, 1850, United States Commissioner, to run the boundary line, in conjunction with the Mexican Commissioner, between this country and Mexico. In that year, and in 1851, 1852, and 1853, he travelled extensively through Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua; and these two large handsomely printed volumes, embellished with maps and illustrations, contain a Narrative of his explorations during that time, and of the incidents of his journeyings; and much valuable information concerning the regions he traversed—the soil, climate, mineral resources, animal and vegetable products, and various tribes of savages. It is written without exaggeration, generally in a simple, easy style, and, bating some excess of detail, is very interesting.

NEW BOOKS.

Our attention has been so exclusively occupied with other than literary matters, for some time past, that we have not been able to notice, in order, several new books which have been laid on our table. At present, we can only speak of two or three recent publications of Ticknor & Co.

"POEMS AND PARODIES," is the title of a collection of the poetical writings of Phebe Carey, who needs no introduction to the readers of the *Era*. There is true poetry in this volume—pure, womanly, and sweetly musical utterances of the heart as well as the intellect. Somewhat less imaginative and fanciful than her sister Alice, the writer is truer to nature and the actual experiences of life. There is an intense reality of feeling in some of her lyrics, which is almost painful, and which singularly contrasts with what we know of her sunny-hearted and happy girlhood. Her Parodies have a great deal of characteristic clearness and wit; but, with the exception of "Martha Hopkins"—a perfect gem of a ballad—are scarcely worthy of the place they occupy in connection with the serious beauty of the original poems.

"WENSLEY," a story without a moral, is, we think, the most successful attempt which has yet been made to portray the peculiar trials of New England society of the past generation. The old-school Clergyman and his man Jasper are evidently pictures from life, and are drawn with skill, truthfulness, and genial humor. It seems to us the most readable book of the kind which has appeared since Hawthorne's Blithdale Romance. The authorship is unacknowledged, but rumor ascribes it to Edmund Quincy, Esq., of Boston.

"ATHERTON, AND OTHER TALES," by Mary Russel Mitford, is an original work by the author of "Our Village," and every way equal to those charming rural pictures of merry England. Indeed, we are inclined to rank Atherton, as a work of art, higher than any previous production of the writer. It is a faultless bit of romance, the interest of which never flags for a moment. The book is elegantly printed, and is made doubly valuable by a fine engraving of the author—a beautiful, kindly face, which Time has only touched lightly and lovingly—our very ideal of a true English gentlewoman.

J. G. W.

THE SLAVE-OWNER'S MODE OF TEACHING SLAVES.—The following "catechism for slaves" is clipped from the *Southern Episcopalian*, a reputable religious monthly magazine, published at Charleston, S. C. It is taken from the April number, 1854:

What keeps *snakes* and all bad things from hurting you? *Answer.* God does.

Who gave you a master and mistress? *God gave them to me.*

Who says that you must obey them? *God says that I must.*

What book tells you these things? The Bible.

How does God do all His work? He always does it right.

Does God love to work? Yes, God is always at work.

Do the good angels work? Yes, they love to please God.

What does God say about your work? *He that does not work, shall not eat.*

Did Adam and Eve have to work? Yes, they were to keep the garden.

Was it hard to keep that garden? No, it was very easy.

What makes the crops so hard to grow? Sin makes it.

What makes you lazy? My own wicked heart.

How do you know your heart is wicked? I feel it every day.

What teaches you so many wicked things? The Devil.

Must you let the Devil teach you? No, I must not."

The Concord (N. H) *Independent Democrat* says:

"The humor of the questions and answers about work—particularly this: 'What does God say about work? He that will not work, shall not eat'—will be appreciated, when we remember that this is the religious instruction provided, for those who do all the *hard working*, by those who do all the *good eating*. Who will not rejoice that those poor slaves are blessed with the consolations of *such* Gospel light? Who will not thank God for revivals, which bring those benighted children of Africa under the sanctifying influences of such a catechism as the above?"

A large deposite of bituminous coal has been discovered in Halifax county, Virginia.

YES: HEAR! THINK!! ACT!!!

E. G. HOLMES & CO., Cincinnati, Ohio, are publishing a book, containing the information advertised in this paper by M. J. Cook. It is a 12mo volume of ninety-six pages, and will be sent by mail, post paid, for twenty-five cents, or nine postage stamps. June 21.

MINNESOTA LAND AGENCY.
Tracy & Farnham, General Land Agents, St. Anthony Falls, Minnesota.

THE Subscribers offer their services to Eastern capitalists in making investments in Western lands.

Few portions of the West present so great inducements for the investment of capital, as Minnesota. It possesses a highly productive soil, a beautiful and healthy climate, and is settling with unprecedented rapidity. Lands will increase here in value more in five years than in many places in twenty-five.

The subscribers can make investments which will net fifty and, in some cases, a hundred per cent. a year, for many years.

Lands can now be had near new and thriving villages for $3, $4, and $5 per acre, that in ten years will be worth ten times that amount.

Circulars, containing much reliable information regard to the country, furnished *gratis*, on application to TRACY & FARNHAM,
May 26. St. Anthony Falls, Minnesota.

DR. WESSELHOEFT'S WATER CURE.
BRATTLEBOROUGH, VERMONT,

ALL rumors to the contrary, continues to receive patients, for whose recovery and comfort the undersigned pledge themselves to spare no pains, so that they may maintain the fame of the establishment. Its provisions for hydropathic purposes are unrivalled, and its supply of pure, soft water is abundant, cool, and palatable at all seasons, without the use of ice.

DR. E. E. LEWENTHAL, Resident Physician.
MRS. F. WESSELHOEFT, Proprietress.
March 24.

TRAVELLING AGENTS WANTED,

TO obtain subscribers for "Woodworth's Youth's Cabinet," decidedly the most popular magazine for young people in America. Price only $1. The work has 48 pages in each number, is liberally illustrated with engravings, and filled with just such reading as is best adapted to entertain and instruct the youthful reader.

A new volume begins with the *July number*, which will be sent to any person desirous of examining the work. Agents, applying with satisfactory references, will be liberally dealt with. Address by letter, or apply in person, to the publisher,
D. A. WOODWORTH,
June 26—4t No. 118 Nassau st., New York.

Lays of Liberty;
OR,
VERSES FOR THE TIMES.

THIS is the title of a small volume of choice Anti-Slavery verses, collected from various sources, and put into one little volume of fifty-four pages, handsomely printed, and bound in cloth. Published by BELA MARSH,
May 29. No. 9 Franklin street, Boston.

NEW LADIES' FASHION BOOK.

FRANK LESLIE'S *Ladies' Gazette* of Paris, London, and New York Fashions. Published on the first of every month, containing all the Newest Fashions in every department of Ladies' and Children's Costume, Jewelry, Ornaments, Furniture, &c. The size is large quarto, being twice the size of the Paris Fashion Books, is printed on superb paper of the finest manufacture, and profusely illustrated with over *One Hundred Engravings;* in addition to which, each part will contain a splendid *Colored Plate*, alone worth more than the price charged for the whole part. Arrangements have been completed in Paris, whereby the Newest Fashions will appear in this work before the Paris Fashion Books are received by the steamer. No. 1 was issued on January 1st, 1854.

It is by far the best Fashion Book issued in this country. We cordially recommend it.—*N. Y. Daily Times.* Takes the highest rank among all journals of its class.—*N. Y. Tribune.* This is a superb work.—*Boston Transcript.* It is the best record of the fashions now published.—*Sunday Times, Philadelphia.* It contains all the newest fashions, and a colored plate of great beauty.—*Home Journal.*

One copy, one year, $3; two do., $5; four do., $9. One copy of the Gazette, and one copy of Harper's, Putnam's, or Graham's Magazines, one year, $5.

Office No. 6 John street, and all Booksellers in the United States and Canadas. March 24.

THE PIANO AND MUSIC ESTABLISHMENT OF HORACE WATERS,
No. 333 Broadway, New York.

THE best and most improved Pianos and Melodeons in the world. T. Gilbert & Co.'s World's Fair Premium Pianos, with or without the Æolian, and with iron frames and circular scales. The merits of these instruments are too well known to need further commendation. Gilbert's Boudoir Pianos, an elegant instrument for small rooms. Hallet & Cumston's Pianos, of the old established firm of Hallet & Co. Mr. W. being sole agent for all the above Pianos, he can offer them lower than any other house in the United States. Horace Waters's Pianos, manufactured expressly for him, having great power of tone and elasticity of touch. Pianos of other make. In a word, 333 Broadway is one of the largest depots for Pianos in the world, affording an opportunity for selections not to be had anywhere else on the American continent. Second-hand Pianos at great bargains. Price from $60 to $175.

MELODEONS.

Goodman & Baldwin's Patent Organ Melodeons, with *two banks* of keys—a sweet and powerful instrument. Prices from $75 to $200.

S. D. & H. W. Smith's *well-known and justly-celebrated Melodeons.* Prices from $60 to $150.

☞ The above makes are the only ones tuned in the equal temperament. ☜ Melodeons of other makes, of all styles and prices.

Martin's unrivalled Guitars, from $25 to $60. Flutenas, from $5 to $25. Accordeons, from $2 to $20. Violins, from $3 to $25. Flutes, from $5 to $40. Brass instruments, and others, of all kinds.

Dealers supplied with the above Pianos and Melodeons at factory prices.

MUSIC.

This list comprises the products of the great masters of both the American and European continents, and is receiving constant additions by an extensive publication of the choice and popular pieces of the day. Dealers in Music, Teachers of Seminaries and Academies, wishing to purchase any music published in the United States, or make arrangements for continued supplies of Mr. Waters's new issues, will find it greatly to their interest to call or forward their orders. Music sent to any part of the United States, postage free. May 22.

THE PEOPLE'S PATENT OFFICE.

THIS well-known establishment is still carried on under the personal superintendence of the undersigned, by whom all the necessary drawings, documents, and specifications, for Patents, Caveats, Designs, Foreign Patents, &c., are prepared with the utmost fidelity and despatch, on very moderate terms.

Persons wishing for advice relative to Patents or Inventions may at all times consult the undersigned *without charge*, either personally at his office, or by letter. To those living at a distance, he would state, that all the needful steps necessary to secure a Patent, can be arranged by letter, just as well as if the party were present, and the expense of a journey be thus saved. When parties wish to be informed as to the probability of being enabled to obtain Patents, it will be necessary for them to forward by mail a rough outline sketch and description of the invention. No fee or charge is made for such examinations.

Private consultations held daily with Inventors, from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. All consultations and business strictly private and confidential.

Models from a distance may be sent by express or otherwise.

For further information, apply to, or address, post paid, ALFRED E. BEACH,
Editor and Proprietor of the People's Journal.
Solicitor of American and Foreign Patents,
People's Patent Office, 86 Nassau st., New York.

THE PEOPLE'S JOURNAL, a record of Science, Mechanics, Invention, and Agriculture. Published Monthly. Every number contains 32 pages, beautifully printed, on fine paper, and profusely illustrated with splendid engravings, forming at the end of every year two fine volumes, comprising nearly 400 pages, with about six hundred elegant engravings. Terms only *one dollar a year*, sent by mail. Specimen Copies 12½ cents. Address as above. May 8.

NORCROSS'S PLANING MACHINE.

MY Rotary Planing Machine has just been decided not to infringe the Woodworth Machine, by the Supreme Court of the United States, and I am now prepared to sell rights to use in all parts of the United States. This Machine gives universal satisfaction. It obtained a Medal both in New York and Boston, over the Woodworth Machine, after a trial of three weeks. N. G. NORCROSS.
Lowell, Feb. 14, 1854.

Z. C. ROBBINS,
Mechanical Engineer and Solicitor of Patents,
Washington, D. C.,

WILL make Examinations at the Patent Office, prepare Drawings and Specifications, and prosecute Applications for Patents, both in the United States and foreign countries.

Applications for patents which have been *rejected* at the Patent Office, he will, when required, argue before the Commissioner of Patents, or before the Appellate Court; in which line of practice he has been successful in procuring a great number of very valuable patents.

He will prepare new specifications and claims for the re-issue of patents previously granted on imperfect descriptions and claims.

Applications for *extensions* of patents, either at the Patent Office, or before Congress, he will also vigorously prosecute.

Also, superintend the taking of testimony to be used in conflicting applications before the Patent Office, or to be read in court.

In all cases of litigation on the subject of patents, he will prepare the cases for the legal profession, explain the scientific and mechanical principles involved, and the application of the law thereto.

He will also give opinions and advice as to the value and validity of patents, and may be consulted in cases of infringements of patents, and all other matters pertaining to the patent laws and practice in the United States and Europe.

Also, prepare caveats, assignments, and all other papers required for securing or transferring patent property.

Having been ten years in the constant practice of his profession in this city, and having free access to the models and records in the Patent Office, as well as to its library, and the "Congressional Library," he flatters himself that he can in all cases give perfect satisfaction to those who may place business in his hands. March 29—eow

Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.

A Choice Periodical for One Dollar a Year!
and a Present to Every Subscriber.
FREE GIFTS FOR THE PEOPLE!
Twenty-five Thousand Dollars in Premiums!
A Handsome Gratuity may now be obtained by subscribing for the
COURIER OF THE UNION,
A Monthly Parlor Journal. One Dollar a year, five copies for $4, twenty-five copies for $20.
Office, 434 Broadway.

WE abound in magazines and newspapers, suited to the wants and tastes of all classes, yet the thirst for mental recreation and intelligence, which is one of the characteristics of our people, encourages us in the belief that another well-conducted publication will be amply sustained.

Competition, which has been called "the life of trade," is now such in the periodical line, that, by the ordinary mode, it is a hazardous undertaking to the publisher to attempt, even with a large capital, to establish a magazine or paper. Not unfrequently, thousands of dollars are expended before it is made to yield a profit; and it has become a settled principle, that subscribers must be paid for, in one way or another. Periodicals are remunerative only when they have a large circulation, and Premiums are commonly given to increase subscription lists.

We design to furnish a handsomely-printed, high-toned, witty, entertaining, and instructive Quarto, (a suitable form for binding,) which in one year will comprise a large amount of useful information, and as a reflex of the times and a record of current events will be found worthy of preservation. Intending it to be, most emphatically, *a paper for the people*, we shall advocate their rights, their interests, their welfare; our motto being "the greatest good to the largest number." The yearly subscription has been fixed at one dollar, or five copies for four dollars, twenty-five copies for twenty dollars—all to one address.

Gratuities, or premiums, amounting in the aggregate to twenty-five thousand dollars, will be returned to the first fifty thousand subscribers, viz:

A *beautiful Villa Residence* in Westchester county, one hour from New York—dwelling, stable, outhouses, gardener's lodge, &c., in the Italian style of architecture	$5,000
An *unique and very pretty Cottage Residence* in the same locality, with a large garden plot, outhouses, &c., complete and in approved taste	2,500
[These will be purchased of the subscribers to whom they may be awarded, for cash, at those prices.]	
A *Perpetual Loan*, without security or interest	1,500
A *Perpetual Loan*, without security or interest	1,000
A *Perpetual Loan*, without security or interest	500
A "*Jules Gurgensen*" *fine Gold Watch*, warranted a perfect time-keeper	250
A "*Cooper*" *fine gold Lever Watch*	200
A *fine gold Pocket Chronometer*	150
A *fine gold superior high-finish Watch*	120
A *fine gold elegant* do. do.	100
5 *fine gold* do. do. *Watches*	400
5 *fine gold Ladies' Diamond* do.	300
5 *fine gold Ladies' Enamel* do.	200
5 *beautiful Gold Lockets*	50
1 *Ladies' Fashionable Gold Set*, comprising *Bracelets, Ear-rings, and Pin*	75
1 do. do. do.	60
1 do. do. do.	50
1 do. do. do.	40
1 do. do. do.	25
50 *fine gold heavy Pens and Pencils*	300
50 *fine gold* do. do.	250
50 *fine gold* do. do.	200
[All of which may be seen at G. C. Allen's, No. 11 Wall street, New York.]	
A *magnificent Rosewood Piano*	500
A *superb* do. do.	400
An *elegant* do. do.	350
A *superior* do. do.	300
An *excellent* do. do.	250
[To be seen at Horace Waters's, 333 Broadway, New York.]	
100 copies of "*The Book of the Poets*," illustrated by a series of 40 splendid steel engravings by the first artists. 8vo. Elegantly bound and gilt	500
20,000 copies of "*Dr. Ure's Pocket Cyclopedia*," a book of reference for all classes, containing all the most valuable Receipts	2,250
20,000 copies of "*The Treasury of Knowledge*,"	2,200
5,000 *fine Steel Engravings*, "Portraits of the Presidents" to the present time	500
4,500 *fine Steel Engravings*, "A Complete View of the City of New York and Environs"	450
60 subscriptions for a year to Harper's Magazine	180
50 subscriptions for a year to Gleason's Pictorial	150
50 subscriptions for a year to Godey's Lady's Book	150
50 subscriptions for a year to Putnam's Monthly	150
50,000 Gifts, amounting to	$22,000
Premiums to Agents and other Canvassers.	
To the agent or other person who forwards the largest list of subscribers	1,000
To the agent or other person who sends the next largest list	500
To the agent or other person who sends the next largest list	300
To the agent or other person who sends the next largest list	200
To the agent or other person who sends the next largest list	100
To the agent or other person who sends the next largest list	50
To those who send the ten next largest lists, each $20	200
To those who send the twenty next largest lists, each $10	200
To those who send the fifty next largest lists, each $4	200
To those who send the fifty next largest lists, each $3	150
To those who send the fifty next largest lists, each $2	100
Total of Gifts	$25,000

Ample arrangements having been made for filling up the subscription list without delay, it is confidently believed that the Premiums will be distributed before the 4th of July. Due notice will be given of the progress made, that the subscribers may appoint a committee of their own number to receive them. Receipts for subscriptions, numbered from one to fifty thousand, are promptly forwarded to the order of subscribers or agents.

Postmasters and Periodical Agents are specially authorized to receive and remit subscriptions, and *all other persons* are invited to take an interest in the publication, each receiving twenty per cent. commission for their trouble, which they can retain from their remittances, or receive in lieu five copies of the *Courier* and five numbered receipts, for four dollars. They also become competitors for the $3,000 cash premiums to be given, when the required number of fifty thousand has been attained, to those who forward the largest lists of subscribers. A careful record will be kept of the number sent by each, and the Premiums will be impartially awarded. A little exertion may secure one of them the handsome gratuity of $1,000.

Subscribers will please be particular and mention in their letters the Post Office, County, and State, to which the paper and their receipt is to be mailed, that no disappointment may occur.

All letters must be *prepaid*, and addressed
WATERHOUSE & CO.,
May 20 434 Broadway, N. York.

"Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty."

PROSPECTUS OF THE FREE CITIZEN.
A PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE.

THE undersigned proposes to publish at the seat of government of Pennsylvania, an Independent Democratic weekly newspaper under the above title; and, in announcing this purpose, we deem it proper to refer briefly to a few of the general principles which shall govern our course.

The Scripture teaches that "God created man in his own image," and that all men are consequently brethren. The Declaration of Independence recognises this truth when it declares that "all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

We believe in the Constitution of the United States, which declares its purpose to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and hold that all its provisions should be construed in accordance with this general purpose.

This was the position and purpose of the sages of the Revolution, and we, their descendants, should labor to secure the blessings of individual liberty and national liberty.

We believe in Democracy—a government by the People and for the People—in the Democracy of free thought, free speech, free conscience, free labor, and free men—in the Democracy which loathes Oppression, and which does not bend its back to sustain the interests of a Class, however powerful or imposing its numbers or position. A Democracy which does this, which despises the People, underrates their intelligence, disregards their opinions, and abuses their confidence, we look upon as a pretence and a sham. If man is to be considered merely as a stall-fed animal, to be satisfied when filled with creature comforts, then will free citizens and free laborers be looked upon as a nuisance and an incumbrance; but not when they are regarded as the life-blood of the Republic. We have been told that such a paper as we propose to print cannot live in the atmosphere of Harrisburg, that the politicians of Pennsylvania have so debauched her public sentiment as to crush out all regard for Justice, Humanity and the Rights of Man as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence; but we do not believe this. Every friend of freedom and democracy has a personal interest in the reputation of the Commonwealth, and we trust every friend of the cause will do his part to sustain THE FREE CITIZEN, and refute this slander on the Keystone State.

TERMS.—THE FREE CITIZEN will be printed on a large and handsome sheet, at Two Dollars per year, payable invariably in advance. Three copies will be sent for $5; 5 copies for $8; and 10 copies for $15. No paper will be sent unless the money accompanies the order. Address
A. M. GANGEWER, Harrisburg, Pa.

PHRENOLOGICAL CABINET.

FOWLERS, WELLS, & CO., Phrenologists and Publishers, 231 Arch street, below Seventh, Philadelphia, furnish all works on Phrenology, Physiology, Water Cure, Magnetism, and Phonography, wholesale and retail, at New York prices. Professional examinations, with charts, and full written descriptions of character, day and evening. Cabinet free. May 22—1y

GILMAN'S HAIR DYE.

The best article ever used, as hundreds can testify in this city and surrounding country. Read! GILMAN'S LIQUID HAIR DYE *instantaneously* changes the hair to a brilliant jet *Black* or glossy *Brown*, which is *permanent*—does not stain or in any way injure the skin. No article ever yet invented which will compare with it. We would advise all who have gray hairs to buy it, for it *never fails.*—*Boston Post.*

Z. D. GILMAN, Chemist, Washington city, Inventor and Sole Proprietor.

For sale by Druggists, Hair-Dressers, and Dealers in Fancy Articles, throughout the United States.

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IMPORTER of French and German Toy Watches; Manufacturer's Agent for the sale of Jewelry; also, Wholesale Dealer in Vegetable Ivory Goods, Sewing Silk, &c. All orders promptly attended to.

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J. & C. BERRIAN, Importers and Wholesale Dealers in Housekeeping Hardware and Fancy Goods, 601 Broadway, New York Cutlery, Silver, and Plated Ware, Japannery, German Silver and Britannia Ware, Composition, Enamelled and Iron Hollow Ware, Bronzed, Copper, and Brass Goods, Bathing Apparatus, Tin, Wood, and Willow Ware, Brushes, Mats, Baskets, Refrigerators, Sporting Tackle, &c. Our stock has for years past been equal to and now surpasses in variety and extent any similar establishment in the country, and will be sold at prices defying competition.

The attention of Housekeepers and Merchants is invited to our stock of Goods and Prices before buying. J. & C. BERRIAN,
March 13—1y 601 Broadway, New York.

IMPORTANT TO MILL OWNERS.

HAVING received my Letters Patent for an improved method of Dressing Millstones, I am now prepared to furnish Machines to Millers and Mill Owners.

I will guaranty that any practical Miller can, at the first trial, if he will try, dress a pair of Burrs in half the time that he can do it with the common hand-pick now in use; and that the work done by the machine shall be better than can be done by nine out of ten of the best handlers of the common pick. The machine makes a clean, clear, thread-like mark, and does not brittle up nor break the face of the stone. It can be controlled at the will of the operator, instantly to make the most delicate lick or one with the force of ten pounds, if required. Every practical Miller knows that a stone is only required to be dressed where the proof staff indicates. This can be done by the machine, no matter how brittle or tender, or how close and hard the face or place on the stone may be, the operator can face it down, or touch as lightly as he pleases. There are three very good reasons for trying them:

First. With fair use, the machine will last twenty years. Second. It is complete within itself, and will not take five minutes, nor cost five cents to try it. Third. I give with the machine thirty tools, or pick-blades, which will last any two pair of stones, to be dressed twice a week, for two years, and then any good smith can replace them for twenty-five cents apiece.

I have used this machine in my mill for nearly fourteen months, to dress both the face and the furrows of two pair of four feet French Burrs, and there has been no hand-pick used on them in all that time. I know that I make a good yield, and I think the reputation of my mill will warrant me in saying that I turn out a first-rate article of Flour.

I have a medal awarded me for the invention of an ingenious and useful machine for Dressing Millstones, by the Commissioners appointed at the exhibition of the World's Fair, in the Crystal Palace, at New York city, besides flattering certificates from all I have sold the machine to.

Having recently obtained Letters patent, I am now prepared to furnish the machines, and to sell State, county and shop rights.

☞ All orders must state the diameter of the millstones, and the size of the collar of the spindle. The price of the machine, with thirty tools, is $125.

Address J. G. SHANDS,
O'Fallon Mills, St. Louis, Missouri.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, *April* 25, 1854.

This is to certify that I have been employed in the O'Fallon Mills for the last ten months, as Miller, during which time I have had a fair opportunity of testing Mr. J. G. Shands's Patent Millstone Dresser. I know, by experience with the machine, that there is not only economy in time and tools, but the stone may be kept in perfect face, and a fine, even, sharp, grinding dress put on in less time and labor than with hand-picks; besides, it takes very little practice to handle the machine, and any one who has experience enough in milling to know what is required to sharpen the face of a stone for grinding, can very soon learn to do a good job with the machine.

June 9—1y SILAS R. DULIN.

IMPORTANT TO THE BLIND.

PATIENTS may be daily seen, at Dr. Knapp's Eye Infirmary, No. 140 Main street, Buffalo, N. Y., who are obtaining their sight by having chemical vapors applied externally, and *causing no pain* whatever. May 8.

A CHARMING BOOK.

LATELY published, in one beautifully-ornamented volume, 4to, Stories for Alice. By a Mother. With four exquisite designs printed in three tints. Cloth, 75 cents; or richly colored, $1; and with gilt sides and edges, $1.25.

This new book for children is written by a lady, daughter of one of our most enterprising and prominent merchants, who has long been known as a writer of very attractive powers by a large circle of friends in this city, amongst whom her poems have circulated in manuscript. At their urgent request, she has given them to the public in this beautiful volume, and we feel sure every young person into whose hands it may fall will be as delighted and charmed as the many who have already obtained it. While so pleasant a treat and so improving a book can be afforded to children, no parent should longer let them be without it.

Lately published—Little Susy's Six Birthdays; Flower of the Family; Week's Delight; Mary and Florence; Leila on the Island; Leila at Home; Leila in England; The Wind Spirit and the Rain Goddess; Legends of Brittany; and many other new books for children, at HAZARD'S,
Feb. 27. 178 Chestnut st., opposite Masonic Hall.

IMPORTANT TO YOUNG MEN.

I OFFER for sale upwards of thirty different Receipts, many of which have been sold the past year for five dollars a-piece, and the whole comprising so many different ways to make money. In the sale of one of the articles alone, I have known young men the past year to make from five to twelve dollars per day; and in the manufacture and sale of any one of the articles, no young man of energy and ability can fail to make money. Address E. BOWMAN, Boston, Mass., enclosing one dollar, and the whole number. Receipts will be forwarded by mail. No letter taken from the office unless prepaid. March 1.

LARD OIL, STAR AND ADAMANTINE CANDLES.

NO. 1 Extra Lard Oil, well filtered and free from gelatine, manufactured for fine machinery, woollens, and solar lamps.

Star and Adamantine Candles, full weight and prime quality, warranted to stand the climate of California, Australia, the Indies, and Africa.

Orders for any quantity executed promptly. Apply to THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil, Star and Adamantine Manufacturer, Cincinnati, O.

A. ARNOLD, PATENT AGENT,

CONTINUES the business of furnishing Drawings, Specifications, Caveats, Conveyances, and procuring Patents. He attends to all business usually required to be transacted with the Patent Office. Models forwarded by Express, and letters containing a fee of five dollars, are promptly attended to. Persons writing from a distance should give their town, county, and State, legibly.

Refer to Hon. Thomas J. Rusk, Hon. C. F. James, and Hon. P. Allen, U. S. Senate. Dec. —6m

CALVERLEY & HOLMES,

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